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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

READERS will probably feel that no apology is needed for the fact that so much of the present issue is devoted to Mr. Rowe's report of his new excavations at Gezer. It has been impossible to print in full the list of objects discovered, but a special reprint of the report is being prepared which will contain the list of objects, and other matter not included in the present issue. The report will show that the excavations were carried out in the careful, thorough and scientific manner which we have learnt to associate with Mr. Rowe's work. While nothing sensational has been discovered, valuable additions have been made to our knowledge of the earlier layers of habitation in Gezer. Limitations of time and funds, unfortunately, made it impossible to explore and gain further information concerning the fortifications on the west side. The excavations were made possible through the generosity of Sir Charles Marston and the late Mr. Herbert Bentwich, who supplied all the funds for the season's work.

The monthly LECTURES at the Rooms of THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND will be continued after the beginning of the New Year. As several of those who are interested have found Friday an inconvenient day, the lectures will be held on Wednesdays in future. The Committee express the hope that as many as possible who are interested in the Ancient East in relation to the Bible, will support these lectures by attending them and making them known to their friends. The programme for 1935, so far as arranged, will be as follows: Wednesday, January 30th, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman will give a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on *The Topography of some New Testament Sites;* on Wednesday, February 27th, Mr. Sidney Smith, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, will lecture on *The Khurri—a recently discovered people of*

Ancient Palestine. On Wednesday, March 27th, Professor S. H. Hooke will lecture on *Ancient Ritual* (with lantern slides).

Attention was drawn in a recent number of the QUARTERLY STATEMENT to Professor E. A. Speiser's monograph entitled *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium, B.C.* In this interesting paper much information was given concerning the Hurrians who will be the subject of Mr. Sidney Smith's lecture. They appear to be, according to Professor Speiser, none other than our old friends the Horites, and so far from being merely an insignificant remnant of cave-dwellers in Canaan at the time of the Hebrew conquest of the land, were an important element in Canaanite civilisation from the seventeenth century onwards. They come into touch with several important Old Testament problems, and Mr. Sidney Smith's lecture on this new and very little known subject should not be missed by any who are interested in the Old Testament.

Intending students of Archæology may be interested to know that an Institute of Archæology has been established in the University of London under the headship of Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, the well-known British archæologist. The Institute will ultimately embrace all branches of Archæology, but at present is confining its activities to the departments of Mesopotamian and Palestinian Archæology. Students are prepared for diplomas and degrees in Archæology in the University of London. Information may be obtained by applying to the Secretary, Institute of Archæology, Lancaster House, St. James, S.W.1.

An ancient cave-tomb dating from the time of Herod, has been recently excavated by Dr. E. L. Sukenik, in the Kidron valley, east of Bir Ayoub. It contained several inscribed ossuaries and a number of pottery lamps. The inscription showed that the burials were those of an Egyptian family which settled in Jerusalem in the first century B.C. The names are engraved in Hebrew characters, sometimes accompanied by the Greek equivalents. One of the women bears the name of Apphia, daughter of Athenagoras. The name Apphia is of interest as occurring in the Pauline epistles. Both names are new in the Jewish nomenclature of Palestine.

In the University of California a novel method has been recently employed in the dating of ancient pottery. Enlisting the aid of the professor of police administration, Dr. Badé, of Tell en-Nasbeh fame, applied modern police methods to the finger-prints discovered on two large water-jars from a site believed to be that of Mizpah of Benjamin. Examination of these finger-prints proved, so it is claimed, that some of the clay vessels found at varying levels in the mound had been made by the same potter, and were not representative of different periods as might have been supposed from their location. A new branch of activities would seem to be suggested for the new Institute of Archæology.

P.E.F. Publications Wanted. Many of the Fund's publications, both books and maps have become out of print. It is suggested that some members may be disposed to assist the Fund by presenting copies of such works for inclusion in our second-hand list, in the event of their having ceased to be of personal utility. Such works as the Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine, 3 vols., with the Name Lists, Special Papers, Tristram's Fauna and Flora. The Jerusalem Volume with its portfolio of plates, and the portfolio maps of W. Palestine. Also the 13 vols. of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text translations. Palestine under the Moslems, etc., are wanted.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Antiquaries Journal, xiv, 4. The Excavations at Ur. By C. Leonard Woolley.

The Expository Times, Nov.-Dec., 1934. Recent Biblical Archæology (Nov.). By J. W. Jack.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, Nov., 1934.

The American Journal of Philology, lv, 4.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 55. Explorations in Eastern Palestine and the Negeb. By Nelson Glueck.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Oct.-Nov., 1934. The Egyptian Expedition.

The Geographical Review, Oct., 1934. The Early Casting of Iron : A Stage in Iron Age Civilisation. By Thomas T. Read.

The Homiletic Review, Nov.-Dec., 1934.

Jewish Quarterly Review, Oct., 1934. The Evolution of the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira. By Rabbi M. T. Segal.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 54, 3.

Journal Asiatique, ccxxiv, 1.

Revue Biblique, Oct., 1934. La Chronologie de Hazael et de Ben Hadad, rois de Damas. R.P.R. de Vaux.

Archiv für Orientforschung, Bd IX, 4, 5-6. Rev. of S. A. Cook: The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archæology, by F. M. T. Böhl. T. H. Robinson and W. O. E. Oesterley: A History of Israel, by O. Eissfeldt. W. Borée: die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas, by F. M. T. Böhl. Notes on the Tablet from Beth Shemesh in the Ras Shamra script, and on the Tell Duweir Ewer Inscription.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Oct.-Nov., 1934. Rev. of E. Ginzberg: Studies in the Economics of the Bible, by J. Benzinger. E. L. Sukenik: The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha, by C. Watzinger.

Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, XI, 3. Passah-fest und Passahlegende. By J. Pedersen. Isaiah, chapter i. By E. Robertson.

Associazione Inter. Studi Mediterranei, v, 1-2, 3. Les Fouilles de Teleilat Ghassul. By A. Mallon.

Biblica, 15, 4. Il nuovo alfabeto e l'idioma Semitico di Ras Shamra. By D. Diringer.

Bible Lands, Oct., 1934.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, June-Sept.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, July, 1934. Explorations in Moab and Edom. By Nelson Glueck. The List of Canaanite Kings. By S. Klein.

The Near East, Oct.-Dec., 1934.

New Judea, Sept.-Oct.

The Annual of the British School at Athens, 1931-1932.

Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archæological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909. Div. IV. Semitic Inscriptions, by Enno Littmann. Section B, Syriac Inscriptions.

Le Inscrizioni Antico-Hebraiche Palestinesi. By D. Diringer.

Handbuch zum alten Testament, erste Reihe. Lieferung I: Biblisches Reallexikon, by K. Galling.

Cafargamala : Beitgemal. Studi Stefaniani.

The Combat of Aleyan-Baal and Mot. A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras Shamra. By T. H. Gaster.

The Heritage of Solomon. By John Garstang.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM

Annual General Meeting.

The annual general meeting of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem took place on Thursday, October 18th, in the rooms of the British Academy.

Business Meeting of Subscribers.

In the unavoidable absence of the President, Sir Frederick Kenyon, the Chair was taken by Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., F.R.S.

The Hon. Secretary, Professor J. L. Myres, read the Minutes of the annual meeting held on October 6th, 1933, which were confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1933–1934.

The Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1933-1934 were presented to the meeting, and a motion by Sir Charles Close that they be adopted, subject to the Accounts being passed by the Auditors, was carried unanimously.

Election of Officers and Council.

On the motion of Mr. A. M. Hyamson the Officers and retiring members of the Council were unanimously re-elected.

Election of Auditors.

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Mr. W. A. Buchanan were re-elected Auditors for the year 1934-1935.

Open Meeting.

The Business Meeting of Subscribers was followed by a well attended open Public Meeting of Subscribers and friends of the School at which His Excellency The High Commissioner for Palestine, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wauchope, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., kindly took the Chair. The Director, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot gave an interesting account of recent excavations at Bosra and Jerash. Miss D. A. E. Garrod described her further excavations of prehistoric deposits in caves at Athlit. Both addresses were illustrated with lantern views. The substance of them is contained in the *Report for the Season*, 1933-1934.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM

REPORT FOR THE SEASON, 1933-1934.

THE programme of work for the past season which was set forth in the last report and approved by the Council, was full and varied. It depended on the support and cooperation of other institutions and of individuals who are not directly connected with the British School. Thanks to the generous measure in which this support and cooperation has been forthcoming, this programme has been successfully completed.

The excavations at Samaria, as was arranged, have been in abeyance, but the work preparatory to the eventual publication has been pushed forward some stages both in America and England. The coin lists which have been prepared by Professor Blake are now ready for the printer and so are several chapters on the later buildings and objects. In England some admirable work has been done upon the pottery by Miss Kenyon and on the plans by Mr. Buchanan, and partly as the result of their labours, partly as the result of the finds reported last year, it seems most desirable that yet another season should be devoted to this site if the funds can be secured. An exhibition has been arranged in the office of the Palestine Exploration Fund to illustrate the progress we have already made and the great importance of continuing the work, a view which our American colleagues share though they will be unable themselves through other engagements to join us.

The excavations at Athlit which have been going on for so many years have been brought to a successful close by Miss Garrod and her assistants, who are the only students of the School who have been actually working in Palestine during the last year. The depth of the strata in the last cave to be investigated proved to be far greater than was anticipated : it is, we believe, considerably over 60 feet and holds by a wide margin the " world record " in the pre-historic field.

The excavation of Isbeita, a Byzantine town in the desert south of Beersheba, has been started by Mr. Dunscombe Colt. This excavation is under the auspices of the School, but the cost of it is met from funds at Mr. Colt's disposal, and his assistants are not regular students of the School. The Director has made several visits to the site and can testify to the excellent way in which the work is being conducted : it has already been productive of some interesting results.

The other field-expeditions, which have been conducted by the Director, have all lain east of the Jordan and have all been carried out with the help of others. At Balu'ah in the plain of Moab he was cooperating with the Transjordan Government, represented by Mr. Horsfield, Director of the Department of Antiquities in Amman, a former student of the School. At Jerash, where another small excavation was made, he had the help of the American School of Oriental Research, and at Bosra, in the Hauran, of Mr. Colt and two of his assistants.

Work of the School during the Past Session.—The Director left England last October after the Annual Meeting and proceeded to Palestine by way of Alexandria, where he stopped to revisit the museum which is of special importance in connection with the finds of the later periods at Samaria. After paying visits to the excavations then in progress at Ai and Shechem, he left Palestine for Transjordan on November 10 to examine the ancient site at Balu'ah, returning to Jerusalem on the 20th. At the end of that month he went to Samaria to arrange various matters there, including the division with the Department of Antiquities of the bulk of the finds that had been made in the previous season. The excavations at Beisan and Megiddo were visited in the course of his stay at Samaria. On December 22 he visited Isbeita with Mr. Colt to discuss the programme of excavations there. The last week of the year was devoted to a visit to the north of Palestine and to south-east Syria where the Director of the French Service of Antiquities, Mr. Seyrig, joined him at Bosra to talk over the details of the proposed investigations there.

The next three months were spent mainly in Jerusalem. Two lectures on Early Christian churches in Palestine were given in March to the American School, and a lecture was given

in the French School on recent work at Samaria in April. Mrs. Crowfoot again conducted an archaeological study circle for the Palestine Association of University Women, and lectured later in the year at the Y.M.C.A. on Beduin weaving. Short visits were paid to the excavations at Tell Duweir, Tell el Ajjul, and Isbeita.

Several days were spent in the beginning of April at Jerash, and the opportunity was taken to make a further clearance on one of the church sites, in the course of which some interesting discoveries were made. A final visit was paid to Isbeita on April 13 to 15, and a week later, after a visit to Gezer with Mr. Rowe, the Director went to Bosra where he was joined by Mr. Colt and two other members of the Isbeita expedition. Athlit was visited on the way to Bosra and again before departure from Palestine at the end of the month. On the way home a few days were spent in Dalmatia to study the remains in Spalato and Salona where there is a cruciform church built on the same plan as the Church of the Prophets at Jerash.

Since his return to England the Director has had prolonged discussions with Miss Kenyon and Mr. Buchanan about the pottery and plans of Samaria, on which they have been very hard at work during the past winter, and the exhibition already mentioned has been arranged in the rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Excavations at Athlit, Wady Mughara, 7th season, April 2—August 25, 1934.—Miss Garrod writes : " This is the final season of work on this site. Digging has been carried on in the Tabūn Cave only, my object being to clear a wide area in front of the cave in order to explore more fully the deep layers reached in a sounding last year.

" In enlarging the trench and sounding dug last year, we passed again through Layers D (Lower Mousterian), Ea-Ed (Acheuleo-Mousterian), F (Upper Acheulean) and G (Tayacian). No layer was found below G, which rested directly on the bedrock.

" A very large number of flint implements was found, especially in Layer E, and good representative fauna was also found throughout this layer. This includes rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and two tusks of elephant, one from the base of Ea, the other from

the upper part of Ed. The only other site from which Pleistocene elephant is known in Palestine is the well at Bethlehem investigated by Miss D. M. Bate in April of this year. The value of the Tabūn elephant lies in the fact that it can be dated to the middle of the Riss-Würm interglacial, but the fact that no molars were found will make it difficult to determine the species.

"A human molar was found in Layer Ea, close to the N.E. wall of the cave, but no other human fragments were present in the lower layers.

"The excavation of the Tabūn is now complete for purposes of publication, but it is clear that there is a large swallow-hole in the middle of the cave, the centre of which lies under the deposits left in place on the south-west side. The archaeological layers from Ed downwards have subsided into this hole as the result of subterranean drainage, and the task of clearing it out would involve several seasons of work and heavy expense. From my observations in the part already excavated I think it unlikely that this would give any very valuable results, or that any layers older than G are present."

Excavations at Isbeita.—These excavations are being conducted by the Colt Expedition under the auspices of the British School. Mr. H. Dunscombe Colt, the Director of the expedition, was assisted by Mrs. Colt and two other former members of the Tell Duweir expedition, Mr. Upton Way and Mr. Brown, also by Mr. Colin Baly, late of the Egyptian Exploration Society, Mr. R. E. MacEwen and Mr. Irving Brown, an American architect. A most promising start has been made in circumstances of considerable difficulty owing to the remoteness of the site and the bad weather which was experienced. Only one of the three churches has been cleared: it proved to be much richer in marble than was expected; the chancel is of the same type as the chancels of Procopius' church at Jerash which is dated 526-7 and of S. Peter's which is probably a little later, and it had apparently galleries above the aisles: the carved and painted architectural detail is of great interest. An unexpected discovery was the finding of late tombstones, one of them dating from the middle of the seventh century, some years after the Arab conquest. It will be remembered that the place was visited by Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund more than twenty years ago: previously it had been studied

by the Dominicans, and during the War it was again visited by the German Denkmalschutzkommando. The following preliminary note has been sent by Mr. Colt :—

" The Byzantine town of Isbeita lies four miles off the main el-Auja-Beersheba road and some 35 miles south-west of the latter place. It is situated on a slight rise overlooking the Wadi Migreh on its eastern side. Like the other towns of its period in the Negeb it is constructed entirely of the local limestone, and is similar to the majority in its lack of orderly planning. Few streets are straight and most wander at will among the houses. There is no town-wall proper, but a continuous circuit, consisting of house and garden walls, encompasses the town. This is pierced at intervals by arched gateways. The size of the ruins is some 460 metres by 350.

" The first season's campaign commenced in early December and continued until mid-April. Work was concentrated in the north-east corner of the town on the clearance of a large church and an extensive building adjoining it, probably a monastery.

" The church complex, as a whole, consists of a church with a narthex, a small chapel, a baptistry with an ante-room, and an atrium with chambers on two sides. At some period a heavy talus was built around the whole, converting it into a defensive position. The church, the interior measurements of which are 22.10 metres by 12.70, is of the tri-apsidal type with small rooms behind the side apses. The aisles were separated by rows of six columns and the whole floor was once covered with white marble—as were the walls to a height of two metres. The rest of the complex was floored with white limestone blocks, except the chapel where the apse and western section contained a much damaged geometric mosaic which unfortunately lacks its date. No clues as to the date of the original building, nor of the many subsequent additions and reconstructions, were found ; but that the church, at least, was still in use in the second quarter of the seventh century is indicated by the finding of several burial-stones of that period.

" South of the church is a large open paved plaza. Fronting this for some 35 metres on the east and adjoining the church complex is the large series of rooms and courtyards of the monas-

tery. Up to the present thirty-six of these have been cleared out and planned, but possibly half that number still remain to be done.

"The pottery found was practically all of the Byzantine period, the finely baked ware being particularly prevalent, but some sherds of the later Roman times also came to light. That there was reoccupation in later times is proved by the finding of considerable amounts of finely moulded Arab ware of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries."

Work at Balu'ah.—The work undertaken at Balu'ah in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities of the Transjordan Government has already been fully described in an article which has appeared in the *Quarterly Statement* and *Bulletin* of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the School (April 1934), so it is not necessary to speak at length about it here. It will be remembered that an important stela was found here a few years ago and our object was to glean anything further that was possible and to report on the desirability of excavating the site completely. We found that the city wall dated from the Early Iron Age, say, about 1200 B.C., and that the place had been occupied more or less continuously for the next 1500 years at least, with a later Arab occupation. The stela goes back to the period of the city wall, our principal finds were some six or more hundred years later, and the buildings which are now most prominent belong to the Nabatean and Roman periods. Since we visited Balu'ah Dr. Glück, late Director of the American School in Jerusalem, has made several long journeys in Transjordan in the ancient territories of Moab and Edom : in the course of these he has discovered, or revisited, an immense number of ancient sites, and his experience has been curiously similar to ours. With one or two exceptions all the sites in this area date from the Early Iron Age but from this period onwards occupation was continuous for many centuries : the Edomite and early Moabite cultures being carried on directly by the Nabatean which gradually shows more and more traces of Hellenistic-Alexandrian-Roman influences. Dr. Glück has stressed the bearing which the date of the beginning of the Edomite-Moabite culture has on the date of the Exodus. In our opinion further work at Balu'ah was not likely to be sufficiently remunerative to justify the expense of excavating in such a remote spot : Dr. Glück shares this view.

Work at Jerash.—The Propylaea Church is one of three churches which for various reasons were only partially cleared in our previous expeditions, and the Director naturally welcomed an opportunity of working here again. Dr. Stinespring, the Director of the American Excavations at Jerash, placed a small gang of workmen at his disposal and further clearances were made in three parts of the building.

This church is interesting because it is not only built, like all the other churches in Jerash, of old material, but actually incorporates in its structure large parts of a classical building—one of the forecourts which led to the Propylaea of the temple of Artemis. The finds made added a little to our knowledge of both periods, the classical and the Christian.

Near the west end of the church a portion of the walls was exposed on both sides, and doors leading into the aisles were discovered. The door opening into the north aisle was quite plain, that on the south side had roughly cut jambs with rude splayed bases not unlike those common at Isbeita but of a type not found elsewhere in Jerash. The character of this door and the masonry of the walls on both sides confirm the late date which has been previously suggested for the construction of this church.

In the chancel a more striking discovery was made. The chancel now proves to be an example of an early type which, so far as we know, has been found hitherto only in Greek lands. In these chancels the bishop's throne still occupied the centre of the apse, but the seats for the priests and deacons were placed in two rows on either side of the altar in the rectangular part of the chancel west of the apse, in much the same position which they occupy in Western churches today. Chancels of this type have been found in Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia and elsewhere in Greece. In the Propylaea church there is no trace of the bishop's throne, but the foundations of the rectangular synthronon west of the apse are visible and the position of the altar between the seats is proved by another discovery of almost equal interest. Built into the bedding of the floor in the exact position where, on the Greek analogies, the altar should have stood a large stone piscina was found: this is the so-called *thalassa*, a basin placed under the altar to catch the water in which the Eucharistic vessels and the hands of the celebrants are washed. Other *thalassas* have been found in Palestine at Jerusalem and Emmaus, but the Jerash example is certainly the most spectacular.

In the Propylaea church the socketed foundation stones of the chancel screen start west of the foundations of the seats for the priests, just as is the case in the Greek examples : the west part of the chancel was the choir where the lower orders of the clergy stood.

All the bedding of the floor round the *thalassa* and inside the foundations of the seats and screen was removed. It was a filling composed entirely of carved fragments and other architectural blocks from the classical building, and beneath it a large stretch of the original pavement of the second century forecourt was found, perhaps the finest and most regular piece of stone paving yet found in Jerash. Among other finds was a stone which had originally served as the lintel over the southern-most of the three classical doorways leading into this forecourt : it contained an inscription with the name of the consular Gaius Allius Fuscianus who is known from other inscriptions at Jerash.

Dr. Stinespring not only made this work possible by providing the labour, but was also kind enough to photograph it when completed and to have it planned by Miss Goell, one of the students of the American School. We are deeply grateful to both of them.

Work at Bosra.—The cathedral at Bosra has been rightly described by Mr. H. C. Butler as " one of the most important in all Syria from the architectural standpoint " and " at the time of its erection one of the largest domed churches in the world," but it is in a pitiable state now. At the east end the five great chambers, three of them still roofed with their original vaults, are used for storing grain and chopped straw. The side walls of the nave have been partly destroyed and partly immured in modern houses, so that they can only be studied in disconnected fragments, and all the middle of the nave is filled up with refuse which is in places four to five metres deep. The last and most cruel disfigurement is a concrete water-tank which was erected a few years ago above the roof of the S.E. chapel, though it is a mute witness to the solidity of the old walls : a waterpipe now descends from this tank obliquely through the middle of the debris in the nave.

" It was obvious on our first visit that work here would be difficult, but it was made much more difficult than we had anti-

cipated by the many inaccuracies in the plans that we had brought with us. The cathedral has been published again and again, but of all the plans the best is the first, that made by Rey in 1857, though the scale of this is wrong. M. de Vogüé visited it four years later and made another plan which is much less accurate and which has unfortunately been taken as the basis of all the later plans, including that of Butler. The gradual discovery of successive mistakes in these plans added a great deal to our labours.

" Our chief objective was to discover how the dome had been originally carried, whether on a single ring of supports on the circle where Butler had discovered one base, or on two rings like the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem as Herzfeld and Creswell have argued, and if so, where the second ring ran, whether on Herzfeld's line or Creswell's. It looked as if it should be easy to settle this problem by making soundings in the appropriate places and finding the bases or their foundations, but it did not prove to be so. We made five soundings in the south and west sides of the nave, and only in one did we find a base ; that one had certainly been slewed round or shifted and exactly how it stood originally is not at present clear : it seems to have carried a square pillar and the two stones below it are probably paving stones in situ. Wherever we dug outside the line of the later chapel, which is shown on the Vogüé plan, we found, except in the one place already mentioned, that the floor had been completely removed and the whole place used as a burial ground. The graves lay as close as possible together and in places three deep. It would appear that the nave was converted into a cemetery shortly after the dome fell and continued in use as such for a very long time.

" We uncovered the south wall of the late chapel : it was built of old material with the carved faces exposed to view, not buried in the core of the wall as was the custom in the early Christian period. The stones were laid in mud mortar in strong contrast with the excellent lime mottar used in the older walls, among them those of the S.E. chapel which now carries the water-tank and which Butler regarded as of inferior masonry. Two pedestals, which were found re-used in the foundations of this chapel, may have come from the supports of the first dome, but they were different in character from the one base which we

found on the floor : a second base however like this is still lying broken on the surface near the west end ; it was used until lately as a butcher's chopping block.

" In the hope of solving the main problem we propose returning to make a more extensive sounding on the north side of the nave on the chance that something more may be left there. We should endeavour at the same time to secure a more accurate plan of the whole building than is at present available." In the meantime it may be noted :

1. That the niches and exedrae are not semicircular but, as Rey alone has drawn them, nearly horse shoe in shape.
2. The architectural detail used in the first building is reused classical detail, probably from the Kalybe, not, as M. de Vogüé thought, " like " the work of the later Empire.
3. The arch in front of the main apse was carried on a bracket and not on a pilaster, as shown in all the plans except Rey's.
4. There is no reason to doubt, with Butler, the early date of the S.E. chapel.

The Director and Mrs. Crowfoot were accompanied on this expedition by Mr. Colt, Mr. Way and Mr. Baly, to whose assistance they are much indebted : the expedition is also deeply indebted to the French authorities for the help which they gave at every turn.

Students.—Miss Garrod, Miss Eleanor Dyott, and Miss Joan Crowfoot were engaged in cave excavation throughout the season. They had the assistance (as before) of an American student, Miss Ann Fuller.

Mr. Inge was again engaged in excavation with the Wellcome Archaeological Expedition at Tell Duweir.

Miss Kenyon and Lt.-Comm. A. G. Buchanan, R.N. retd. remained in England to work respectively at the pottery from Samaria and plans of the site.

Finance.—The accounts for the year 1933-34 show an improvement on the previous year, which is due, in the main, to a generous donation of £200 by the Treasurer, Sir Robert Mond, and to the collection of some substantial arrears of subscriptions. The General Account balance at the close of the year showed an increase of £39 4*s.* 0*d.* over 1932-33.

Contributions to the Athlit Caves Account, a list of which appears on page 20 were generously maintained, and this work required no further subsidy from General Account. A credit balance of £29 2*s.* remains in this account, but this will be required to meet the cost of shipment from Palestine and insurance of a number of cases of specimens.

The Palestine Exploration Fund contributed half the total cost (£18 2*s.*) of the Balu'ah Expedition.

A grant of £5 was made to the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences for the London session of which the School was represented by its Hon. Secretary. With the exception of printing and lecture expenses, the ordinary expenditure is at about the same level as the previous year.

Programme for 1934-1935.—Two discoveries at the very end of last year's campaign at Samaria put a new complexion on some of the most important problems of the site. Just east of the strip where the great hoard of ivories was found in 1932 more carved ivories came to light. Four superimposed Israelite layers were distinguished, and the bottom layer contained a wall of the finest type of early masonry. This wall extended eastward, and should be traced till its relation to the north wall of the citadel is determined. About a hundred yards east of this wall rises the semi-circular tower some twenty feet high, later than the " house of ivory," and perhaps of the time of Jeroboam II. It is by far the most impressive Israelite building found anywhere hitherto.

As it overlies an earlier wall, further work is needed to elucidate the whole system of defence on this side of the summit.

Accordingly, the Director recommends further search in this crucial area, both to complete the plan of the Israelite site, and in the hope of further finds of ivories and other fine objects—

perhaps even inscribed tablets. Conditions are favourable for the resumption of work next season: the quarters built in 1931 are still available, and two or three members of the old staff are ready to offer their services. The cost may be estimated as follows:—

Personnel.—The site is a difficult one and skilled supervision is necessary in every part; provision must be made for the passages from England and allowances of the surveyor and at least two archaeologists; for the engagement in Palestine of a professional whole-time photographer and a draftsman; an architect, also from Palestine, may be required for a short time. These items with the cost of camp maintenance may be estimated at £600.

Labour.—The wages of an hundred natives and two Egyptians for three months will amount to about £800.

Rents and Compensations—It will probably be necessary to purchase from fifteen to twenty olive and other fruit trees, and to meet this, *plus* rent and possibly crop-compensation, £100 should be provided.

Equipment, Road Transport, Insurance and other contingencies may cost £200.

For a three-months' campaign the cost as shown above may amount to £1,700, and it is obviously desirable to aim at raising £2,000.

Towards this amount there are at present available the balance of the Samaria Fund in London and Jerusalem, about £300, and the balance of the Mond Studentship Fund (available for travelling expenses) about £100. The former British collaborators, the British Academy, and the Palestine Exploration Fund, have been invited to help once more. Professor Lake of Harvard cannot join us, but has sent his best wishes for the new campaign.

The Council most urgently commends this final effort at Samaria to the generous support of subscribers and their friends.

The excavation at Isbeita, which has been started by Mr. Dunscombe Colt, will be continued, and the Director hopes also to be able to complete the work which has been begun in the Cathedral at Bosra.

The excavations of the caves at Athlit may now be regarded as finished, and this year will be devoted to preparing for publication the work of the previous seasons.

Publications.—The *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which incorporates the *Bulletin* of the School, included the following articles on the work of the School during the past year :—

Oct., 1933. *Inscribed Potsherds with Biblical Names from Samaria.* By Dr. E. L. Sukenik.

Jan., 1934. *Report of the Annual Meeting of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.*

April, 1934. *An Expedition to Balu'ah.* By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

Excavations at the Wady al Mughara. By Miss D. A. E. Garrod.

The 1934 Excavations at Gezer

By Alan Rowe

The 1934 excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer, which lasted for a little over a month from the 29th of September, were certainly, I venture to state, of a successful and interesting nature. They were made possible through the great generosity of Sir Charles Marston and the late Mr. Herbert Bentwich, who supplied all the funds required for the season's work, as well as through the kindness both of the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris who gave permission for the work to be carried out on the tell, which was his private property, and of the Maccabean Land Company, Jerusalem, who allowed us to use the house or " Castle " on the site which was leased to them by the owner of the tell. The work was supervised by myself with the assistance of Miss M. Bentwich, who carried out in an excellent way both some tomb recording and the keeping of the Object Register ; the " List of Objects Found " at the end of this account is based on the Register. The Rev. Père L. H. Vincent and Dr. W. F. Albright visited the excavations and gave us some valuable advice concerning the pottery. Dr. N. Wren of the Opthalmic Hospital, Order of St. John, Jerusalem, kindly identified most of the bones found by us. Other visitors to the site included Mr. E. T. Richmond (Director), Mr. J. H. Iliffe (Curator of the Museum), Mr. W. A. Heurtley (Librarian) and other officials of the Department of Antiquities ; members of the American Schools of Oriental Research, of the École Biblique, of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, and of the Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem ; Mr. J. L. Starkey of the Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition to the Near East ; and also Lady Flinders Petrie. Photographs of the excavations were taken by Messrs. W. Jessel of the *Palestine Post*, G. E. Matson of the American Colony, A. M. Page of the Royal Air Force, and C. Raad, all of Jerusalem. Copies of these views are in the London office of the Fund, but some are published with this account. To the Postmaster General, Jerusalem (Colonel W. Hudson) we are indebted for the loan of a telescopic ladder which greatly facilitated the clearing out of some ancient cisterns.

Most of the workmen came from the neighbouring village of Abu Shūsheh, but a few were from el-Qubāb, on the Jaffa Road ; they were placed under an Egyptian *reis*, Abd el-Kerīm, who had been with me for many years in Palestine and Egypt. It is pleasing to be able to record the fact that the Abu Shūsheh men are of a particularly good type, and gave us no trouble at all. In the beginning, however, we noticed that two notorious local robbers, having served jail sentences totalling, I believe, eight years and six years respectively, had unwittingly been engaged, but these men were promptly discharged. They were discovered through the cooperation of the el-Qubāb police. The next day after they were discharged one of the robbers, an el-Qubāb man, was picked up on another case and is now in custody. While on this subject I perhaps may be permitted to add that one day when I was at the bottom of a deep cistern (No. 1007) the *reis* told me that three " Arabs from Transjordan " (as they described themselves to him) wanted to see me. Thinking they were after work I told the *reis* to send them away as we had no vacancies. But the men insisted on seeing me, so I told them to come to the mouth of the cistern. One of them shouted down that he wanted to speak with me secretly, so I climbed up the ladder. At the top the three men acted rather mysteriously, as I thought, and asked me to come away out of the hearing of the workers. This I did. Then one of them said : " Please keep what I am going to say to you secret." I said, " All right," at the same time noticing they were armed with daggers and that one had a gun under his outer cloak. At first I rather suspected all sorts of things, but the men then said they were Arab police in disguise. It appears that some three years ago a highway robber took by force of arms some money and two camels in the Beersheba district and had got clear away. A secret informer told them that the robber had recently been working with us ! Whether this was true or not I do not know, but at the time of the police visit he was certainly not there. One of the policemen was a fine looking dark man of Bedouin race from Beersheba ; the others were from Ramleh, I believe. I must say the disguises were perfect, for the men looked nothing else than ordinary Arabs wearing the usual flowing garments and sandals. The Palestine Police is a most

efficient force, and has given us every assistance during the work. During the season only one accident occurred on the tell, and even that had nothing to do with us. It appears that one morning when I was absent for a while, a party of Arab friends of one of our workers visited the excavations. One of them borrowed a horse and, so I am told, attempted to show off in front of his friends by galloping over the rocks. The man unfortunately fell down and was kicked by the horse, fracturing some bones. So far as I know he is still in hospital.

In accordance with the arrangement made between the Fund, Sir Charles Marston and myself (an arrangement entered into after the site was inspected by Messrs. R. W. Hamilton and J. H. Iliffe of the Department of Antiquities. J. W. Crowfoot of the British School of Archæology, Jerusalem, and the present writer) it was decided to carry out the excavations on the west side of the tell. At this place, where no previous work had apparently been done, a strip was laid out running down the side of the tell from southeast to northwest ; the south eastern limit of the strip is marked by an Arab cemetery in which burials are still being made by the local people. The upper part of the south-western side of the strip is about 39 metres from the north side of the courtyard of the modern house or " Castle " on the tell top. It was our intention to correlate as far as possible the levels supposedly to be found on the west side of the tell with those found on other sides by Professor R. A. S. Macalister, whose excavations at Gezer will always remain a monument of scientific and painstaking work. To our great surprise, however, at a point not very far below the overlying debris, we came quite unexpectedly upon the rough and irregular surface of the tell. This rock was found literally to be honeycombed with holes consisting of caves, burial places, cisterns and so on. As a matter of fact probably much more work, and certainly more difficult work, was done underground than on the surface. Had this not been the case we should have been able to have extended our strip considerably further down the tell side than its present limit.

Cup-Holes.

In the rock surface were discovered sixteen cup-holes, of a depth ranging between 3 to 26 centimetres. They are mostly

shaped like an inverted bell with a flaring mouth, and average about 25 centimetres in diameter. Near two of them (Nos. 1, 2 on the plan) is a shallow trough which is 15 centimetres deep at the north end and 10 centimetres deep at the south end. Another shallow trough, only 3 centimetres deep, has a cup-hole (No. 12) sunk in one side of it. The exact significance of all these places is uncertain, but doubtless some were used for making olive oil and still others for pounding grain. They perhaps may be attributed to a period ranging between or including Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and even Early Bronze[1] times.

Surface Finds.

The debris overlying the rock surface is of a black loamy nature on which crops are grown in season ; the debris contains objects and fragments of objects dating from all periods. It was highest over the remains of a supposed migdol which we discovered and here contained many loose large stones which must have come from the destruction of that building. A complete list of the objects recovered from the surface debris is given in the " List of Objects Found " at the end of the full report which is published separately, where also will be found details of all objects from other parts of the site. These parts are dealt with in consecutive order, beginning with 1,000 and ending with 1009, and will all be found on the plan.

No. 1000. Tomb (?).

In the south corner of the strip we came across a very irregular pit, about 140 centimetres deep, with an irregular recess, 55 centimetres high, leading off from its base on the west. The pit seems originally to have been a natural cleft in the rock which was deepened or widened out when the recess was excavated. Both pit and recess were filled with black earth in which were 123 flints of various shapes and sizes. Whether this place was used as a tomb or not it is impossible to say, but the recess may well have contained an adult burial of the late Early Bronze (?) period.

1 I would prefer to use the term " Copper " rather than " Bronze," for the metal objects of the period are of the former and not of the latter material. But I adhere to the conventional nomenclature in this account.

No. 1001. Great Cave.

A little to the north-west of No. 1000 we came on a flight of rock-cut steps leading down into a great cave. This cave, as will be seen from the plan, extends almost under the whole of the existing part of the above mentioned migdol. Its entrance and a little of the cave beyond the entrance were completely filled with debris and with great stones fallen down from the ceiling which had collapsed in ancient days. We cleared out some of this debris, when suddenly a fall of further debris in the north-east end revealed what at first appeared to be a long passage leading away into the darkness. Before any further advance could be made we had to break up the rock falls and remove the underlying debris. It was while we were carrying out this work that we found to the left, just inside the stairway, the top of a "Primus" stove[1] and a small modern cat-figurine of brown glass, evidently dropped there by the Arab who left the "Primus" part. This man, however, could not possibly have entered the cave deeper in than the point indicated, owing to the large fallen stones. Moreover, the surface of the "passage," as we first called it, was entirely undisturbed, being covered with rather large stones and small white flakes from the ceiling. The rock surface of the ceiling was extremely wet, and almost flaked off at the touch. As the place got more and more opened up, the rock gradually dried off. Scattered here and there in the softer limestone are nodules of flint, so the people who first used the cave, originally a natural one, must have utilised this part of it as a convenient quarry for their primitive implements. There is a break, obviously accidental, between the southern part of the cave entrance and what is apparently the recess of a pit tomb similar to No. 1000. The pit is 120 centimetres deep, and the recess at the west 85 centimetres high. Compare the plan: no objects whatever came from this supposed tomb, which we have numbered 1001x.

After clearing out the entrance passage of No. 1001, and the part immediately beyond it we found that the so-called "passage" actually consisted of a large chamber of a height ranging from 2 metres to 2·60 metres, with a floor gradually sloping

[1] Stoves of this type are in common use by the Arabs of Palestine.

from south-west to north-east, the last mentioned point being the highest part of the cave. Beyond to the north-east and north-west we could see other chambers, which were afterwards cleared out. There are three rock-cut steps at the entrance leading to a short ramp which ends at the commencement of the floor of the large chamber. Our subsequent work certainly showed, as we have already mentioned above, that the whole cave was originally a natural one which was deepened out and widened in places and in other places left quite untouched.

Large Chamber.—The debris in this chamber extended to a point about 60 centimetres from the ceiling; for about two metres or so near the entrance, however, it actually reached the ceiling. The upper part, except for the rock falls, consisted of what appeared to be alluvial black soil of a depth of about 10 centimetres. This had evidently been washed down by the rains through cracks in the rock ceiling; in one place we actually found a small pyramidal pile of such soil immediately below a large crack. The underlying debris in the chamber had been completely disturbed and the objects it contained were by no means in any order at all. On the top of this debris near the entrance, however, were the remains of a burial perhaps of the Late Bronze Age, as some pottery fragments of that period (see List of Objects, Nos. 39, 78 and 83), were found not far away. The body was represented by a skeleton, possibly that of a man, badly crushed by rock falls. His head was to the east, and his feet to the west; whether the skeleton was extended or contracted it was impossible to determine. At not a great distance from the burial was a nice bronze or copper dagger (No. 37), which perhaps dates from the Middle Bronze Age. According to the Rev. Père Vincent, all the rest of the pottery in the large chamber dates from Chalcolithic and Early Bronze I, II and III times (see List of Objects Found). One of the most interesting finds was a cult-object in the form of a limestone model of a bed (Pl. IV), which evidently shows Mesopotamian influences (No. 35). Another was a fine flint knife, about 16·3 centimetres long (No. 38). Some remains of human, animal and bird bones came from the mixed debris, the human bones obviously belonging to early burials made in the chamber and the others to the time when it was still earlier used as a dwelling place.

It is possible it was in the Chalcolithic and the first part of the Early Bronze Age that the large chamber was dwelt in ; perhaps in the concluding part of the Early Bronze Age or even during the Middle Bronze Age, the chamber was generally used for burials. Evidence as to the use of the chamber for a habitation is afforded not only by the animal and bird bones, obviously remains of meals, but by a circular depression in the floor, just inside to the left of the stairway, This depression is about 135 centimetres in diameter and 68 centimetres in depth, and was certainly employed as a silo for grain ; apart from the debris filling, however, it contained nothing except a roughly squared stone which had evidently accidentally fallen into it. Against the north-west corner of the chamber is still another depression ; this is 60 centimetres in diameter and 40 centimetres high, and perhaps once held a large water jar. The grain itself was ground by the pestles and mortars (Nos. 67-74), and the animals and birds killed and dressed by the various flints (Nos. 38, 80, 81, 104), found scattered about in the debris. Whether the four stone beads (No. 40) were associated with a burial or belonged to a person who dropped them during lifetime it is impossible to say. A potter's wheel is perhaps represented by object No. 75.

Chamber A.—At the back of the large chamber the rock suddenly rises in a step, about 108 centimetres high, the top of which forms the floor of Chamber A beyond, leading off to the north-east. This chamber varies in height from 104 centimetres at the front to 60 centimetres at the end, and has apparently been left in its natural state. The ceiling is on approximately the same level as that of the ceiling of the large chamber to the south-west. On or near the floor of Chamber A which was covered with debris only to a depth of about 30 centimetres, were a number of vessels of the three Early Bronze Ages, and also a few sherds of the Middle Bronze Age and of the Late Bronze Age (see *List of Objects Found*). An interesting find here was a limestone cover for a pot (No. 98).

Chamber B.—This consists of a chamber on the north-west side of Chamber A, to which it is connected by a natural small passage (compare the plan). Like the former chamber, but with two exceptions, to be referred to below, it has been left in its natural state. The floor of the chamber, which, owing to a

natural step, is 65 centimetres below that of Chamber A, slopes steeply down from south-east to north-west ; the chamber is only 60 centimetres high and was filled with a layer of debris averaging 40 centimetres in thickness. Owing to the lowness of the ceiling the debris was removed with much difficulty, the men having to lie flat on the floor. From the chamber came a cult-object (?) in the shape of a bowl with a small cup attached inside it (No. 101), dating from Early Bronze II. Age ; also a rim of an Early Bronze Age large store jar (No. 102). The former object was lying against the north-west wall of the chamber, not far from a small recess which had been made in the right-hand end of that wall. This recess is entered by a small pit, 115 centimetres wide and 50 centimetres deep, cut in the floor of the chamber, that is, in the angle formed by the floor and wall. The recess is 100 centimetres high, and its floor is 38 centimetres below the floor of the pit, or, in other words, 88 centimetres below the floor of Chamber B. Nothing came from the recess excepting a little debris ; the place was probably used as a storeroom of some kind.

Chamber C.—This consists of a small passage, 4·70 metres long, about a metre or so wide, and 70 centimetres high, excavated near the right-hand side of the north-eastern wall of Chamber B. It was almost completely filled with small pieces of limestone, which looked like quarrymen's chips—perhaps from some part or other of the cave which had been enlarged. Among the chips was a flint knife or scraper with serrated edges (No. 104). This chamber and the recess in Chamber B are the two exceptions referred to in the second sentence of the description of the latter chamber.

The history of the cave is probably as follows : In about the Chalcolithic Age the peoples of Gezer discovered a natural cave in the top of the west side of the rock below the present tell. This natural cave they, and doubtless also their successors of the first part of the Early Bronze Age, gradually widened out and deepened, that is to say as far as the south-western part of it was concerned (our " Large Chamber "). Steps were added to facilitate entry and exit and a grain-silo and water-jar hole were sunk in the floor on the left-hand side. This chamber these early peoples used as a dwelling place, reserving the

upper chambers A, B and C either for storage or for sleeping purposes. Whether the recess in Chamber B. and also Chamber C. were actually excavated at this time or not it is impossible to say. Later on, and perhaps in the concluding part of the Early Bronze Age, or in the Middle Bronze Age, and almost certainly on one occasion in the Late Bronze Age, the cave was used for burials. The migdol above the cave dates from the *later* part of the Middle Bronze Age, so doubtless Middle Bronze burials (if any) in the cave are from the earlier part of this period. The Late Bronze Age burial was evidently an isolated one, for the cave was then well within the limits of the city wall. It seems quite certain that the cave had never been entered from Late Bronze times until quite recently, when some Arab managed to get as far as the bottom of the stairway, but was luckily prevented from going in further by the mass of rock falls.[1]

The approximate dimensions of the chambers are as follows : *Large Chamber*, S.W.-N.E., 8·50 metres, M.W.-S.E., 4·75 to 5·45 metres ; *Chamber A*. S.W.-N.E. 8·10 metres, N.W.-S.E. 4·25 metres ; *Chamber B*. S.W.-N.E. 10·30 metres, N.W.-S.E. 2·90 to 5·80 metres ; *Chamber C*. (see above).

No. 1002. Tomb (?).

In the extreme south-west corner of the strip we came across a tomb (?) of the type of No. 1000 already described. The irregular pit (north-east side missing) is 70 centimetres deep, and the recess, which leads off from its base at the north, is 28 centimetres high. Both pit and recess were filled with black earth in which were part of the rim and neck of a large Early Bronze Age store jar (No. 21) and also miscellaneous sherds of the same period with a few later intrusive sherds mixed with them (No. 22). If the recess were used as a tomb it could only have held the contracted body of a child.

No. 1003. Rock Scarp.

The above number is given to the rock scarp leading from the rocky platform at the south of the strip down to the rock, about 175 centimetres below, in which the entrance of Cave

[1] In connection with more or less recent robbing of Tombs at Gezer, the local people say that the Turkish soldiers during the Great War plundered some of these sepulchres.

No. 1001 is situated. From the black soil over and near the scarp came part of a mortar, a cylindrical grinding stone, and some Early Bronze Age, and later pottery fragments (Nos. 23-27).

No. 1004. Area East of Migdol.

This area consists of the original rock surface with a layer of debris over it. In the rock surface are four cup-holes (Nos. 1-4 on the plan) and one shallow trough, all of which have been dealt with in the section on "Cup-holes" From the debris came a fragment of a mortar, a long cylindrical grinding stone, and some Early Bronze potsherds (Nos. 28-31 in *List of Objects Found*).

No. 1005. Migdol (?).

A little distance to the north of the entrance of the great cave No. 1001, and covering a great deal of the eastern part of the strip, are the foundations of a small but solidly-made building. This peculiar structure is situated almost on the top edge of the tell and was perhaps originally a kind of watch-tower or migdol from which the soldiers could see all over the surrounding country (Pl. I). It is built against the north-west side of a wall, averaging 2·35 metres in width, which evidently enclosed a silo (Pl. VI), and a deep cistern (No. 1007), both adjacent to the tower, and also possibly other structures, long since destroyed. This wall certainly forms no part of the city wall which is much further to the west. The ends of the former wall are missing although a careful search was made for them; the south-western end doubtless extended over the entrance of cave (No. 1001) for we found some large loose blocks nearby. The small building is 13·05 metres in length from north-east to south-west, and 7·95 metres from north-west to south-east; the thickness of its walls ranges from 180 centimetres to 2.30 metres. It contains two small rooms; the centre wall, however, may well have been the base of a stairway leading up to the top of the supposed tower. Where the entrance was we do not know. The foundations rest for the most part upon the rock surface, but some debris packing is used in places; see our Section A-B, through the tell. From the *List of Objects Found* it will be observed that the finds from the rooms date from Chalcolithic, Early Bronze, Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, Iron Age, and Hellenistic times, most of which are intrusive. The silo

belonging to the building (which building, incidentally, as we see from the plan, appears originally to have had another room at its north-eastern end) had a rock-cut base ; this is the only part of it which now exists. The diameter is 195 centimetres, and the maximum depth 44 centimetres. Like the cistern, the silo is against the outside of the north-west wall of the tower. Our sole evidence for the date of the whole complex, including the supposed surrounding wall, the tower, silo and cistern, rests entirely upon the pottery found in the cistern (to be described below) which Dr. W. F. Albright places at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, plus or minus 1600 B.C., that is to say, in the Hyksos period. The complex forms a complete fort in itself and any soldiers who looked after it would have been well provisioned in case of siege. In this connection we are reminded of the midgol I. found in the Amenophis III. level at Beisān, A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, 1930, page 20.

No. 1006. Area South of Migdol.

This area, like No. 1004, consists of the original rock surface with a layer of debris over it. There are no rock holes. All that was found in the debris was a miscellaneous collection of Early Bronze and Middle Bronze sherds (No. 34).

No. 1007. Cistern Belonging to Migdol.

During the course of our work on the west side of the migdol we came across a roughly made trough cut in the rock ; this trough slopes down from the east to the west, and is about 45 centimetres deep (maximum). Against the south side of the middle of and in the trough, we discovered a circular shaft, about 90 centimetres in diameter at the top, and about 160 centimetres in depth. The shaft connected with a large underground cistern which, like the shaft, was full of debris. The cistern is roughly circular in plan ; *at the top*, where it is larger, it measures 6·75 metres from south to north and 7·30 metres from east to west, while, *at the bottom*, where it is smaller, it measures 4·20 metres from south to north and 4·40 metres from east to west. Its maximum depth excluding the shaft, is 4·65 metres. In the centre of the base, and a little to the south of

the shaft above, is a small roughly-oval receptacle, 108 centimetres in length from east to west and 80 centimetres in the opposite direction. This receptacle is some 45 centimetres deep and was doubtless meant for collecting the silt deposited as a result of continual usage of the cistern. Compare the receptacle in the cistern found last year at 'Ain-Shems, E. Grant, *Rumeileh* (*'Ain-Shems III.*), 1934, page 62. Map VI. (Level II.). While the Gezer cistern was being made the ancient workmen accidentally broke into the east side of a neighbouring small cistern (?) or tomb (?), No. 1008, of the Early Bronze Age; what destruction they carried out in this latter place will be seen later on. Our work in the great cistern was considerably delayed by the fact that the ceiling angles had collapsed in large pieces of rock which had to be laboriously broken up before we could remove the underlying earth filling. One such piece was so hard that we could not break it up with safety to ourselves, so it had to be lowered down as the work progressed. The debris which filled the shaft and the upper part of the cistern itself to a depth of 3·35 metres from the top of the shaft, was of the soft black kind that covers the tell side. Below this particular debris was a lighter kind of material, brownish in colour, something like dirty sand; this gave the appearance of having been water-logged for a considerable period. The objects from the upper (black) debris bear the provenance number 1007 in the *List of Objects Found*, and those from the lower (brown) debris the number 1007A. We see from the List that part of a large mortar, and pottery fragments of the Late Middle Bronze Age came from No. 1007 (Nos. 111-112); and that part of a bowl, dating from the transitional period between the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages, and a great quantity of broken pottery of all classes, dating from the Late Middle Bronze Age, came from No. 1007A (Nos. 106-109). There are no traces of cement lining, but this may well have disintegrated. It would appear that the trough surrounding the shaft top was for the purpose of preventing water from being spilled over too large an area, and from damaging the neighbouring silo. The cistern certainly dates from the Late Middle Bronze Age, and its importance of course lies in its association with the migdol.

No. 1008. Isolated Cistern (?) or Tomb (?)

Some little distance to the north-west of the great cistern No. 1007, we came upon what is apparently still another cistern or perhaps even a tomb, or a cistern converted into a tomb. This, judging from its contents, is certainly Early Bronze in date. It is much smaller than the adjacent cistern, but is like it in general appearance. At the top is a shaft, averaging 95 centimetres in diameter, and about 3·15 metres deep; this connects with the centre of a "chamber" below, which is roughly circular in plan (N.-S. 2·62 metres; E.-W. 2·75 metres) and about 2·55 metres in height. In the north wall of the "chamber" is a passage 4 metres in length, about 130 centimetres in width, and about a metre in height. Its floor commences at 115 centimetres above the floor of the "chamber." Whether this passage is partly a natural one, or one that has been wholly excavated is difficult to decide. We have already seen above that when the makers of the Late Middle Bronze cistern No. 1007, dug out their cistern they accidentally broke into the east side of the "chamber" of No. 1008; the hole they made near the top of their cistern was afterwards very carefully built up with rough pieces of rock. While we were working in No. 1007, we could distinctly hear the blows of the picks of the men working in No. 1008; the sound of these blows, as the work progressed, came nearer and nearer and one could not but help thinking of the famous Siloam inscription. The history of No. 1008 is very difficult to determine, but from the fact that disturbed human remains were found in its "chamber" it seems obvious that part of it, perhaps the passage, was used as a burial place at one time or other. Of course the whole place may have well been merely a burial place from the beginning; but, assuming it to have been *originally* a cistern (no traces of cement lining were found in it) its history possibly may be reconstructed as follows: In Early Bronze times a small cistern was made in the rock. Later on, and perhaps towards the end of the same period, the cistern had become disused and a burial made in the passage, either partly natural or specially excavated, in its north side. The burial remained until Late Middle Bronze times when the makers of the neighbouring great cistern disturbed it, threw the bones into the "chamber," and filled the whole in with

large stones in order to strengthen the west side of their own cistern. In addition to the large stones, we found in the debris two loom weights (?), one of stone and the other of pottery, and a grinding stone (Nos. 118, 115) ; also a quantity of Early Bronze pottery, mostly in fragments (Nos. 113, 117, 119-122) ; and a part of a basalt vessel with a decoration of knobs (No. 116).

No. 1009. Small Cave.

A little to the north-west of No. 1008 we suddenly came across a masonry wall, on the other side of which was a small natural cave in the rock, its opening, perhaps artificially widened, being to the south. A small irregular pit, 85 centimetres deep, forms the opening ; the cave itself is only 55 centimetres high, and is roughly semicircular in plan, being some 4 metres long. At the back of it a crevice appeared in the rock, and this we did not clear out as it apparently led only to the surface. The cave was completely filled with soft black earth in which were 2,353 worked and unworked small flints of all descriptions (No. 123). Whether this place was used merely as a store for flints or whether it formed part of a flint workshop of which the outside wall also formed a part, we are unable to decide. Anyhow, it must surely belong to an early period in the history of Gezer.

General.

From the present results of our excavations it would appear that the west side of the tell, so far as our excavated strip is concerned, was *generally* used first of all for dwellings in very early times, and later on, say in late Early Bronze times, as a cemetery. This means of course that the contemporary settlement itself, during the period the cemetery was in use, must have been on some other part of the site. The people of Late Middle Bronze times who made the great migdol were doubtless not unaware of the existence of the early cemetery but apparently did not mind this, for they went ahead and placed their city structures right over it. If more work is to be carried out at Gezer, and I am strongly of the opinion that it should be, I recommend that it be to the north of and adjoining our present

strip where there are perhaps indications that the rock is generally much lower than on the part we cleared.[1]

In conclusion, my best thanks are due to Sir Charles Marston and Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Hon. Secretary of the Fund, for their constant support and advice during the time the work was being planned and during the progress of the work itself.

Additional Note.

It is important to note, in connection with the model of the bed found in Cave No. 1001 (*Reg. No.* 35), at Gezer, that an example of the XIIth Dynasty came from Hauwâra, in Egypt ; *cf.* W. M. F. Petrie and others, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, 1912, p. 35, Pl. XXX. It belonged to an intact burial of a girl. The discoverer records : " The model couch (bed) is a unique example of a couch of this age, only those of the 1st and the XVIIIth dynasties being hitherto known. It is carefully made, the length being 19·29 and 19·35 inches, the breadth 9·20 and 9·24 inches." It is made of wood. Further, burials on beds were frequently made in the early dynastic period ; in a few instances the bed was laid over the coffin. The webbing of the bed varies from coarse rush matting tied round the poles to leather straps passing through strap-holes in the bedstead. Examples of palm-fibre matting are also known. The beds range in date from S.D. 77 to S.D. 82, namely, Dynasty O to Dynasty I. *Cf.* W. M. F. Petrie and others, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, 1913, pp. 3 (on dates of S.D.), 6, 23, 24. Pl. VIII, Nos. 1-4, 6, 7 (the last showing a palm-fibre matting from a bed, which should be compared with the matting shown on the Gezer example). It is therefore interesting to observe that beds and bed-models are known in the earliest periods in Palestine (Gezer, *c. Early Bronze*), Egypt (*Dyns.* 0-1), and Mesopotamia (*late Neolithic : cf.* the example from Tepe Gawra, in E. A. Speiser, in *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, IX, 1929, pp. 34, 53, and 83, fig. 98—reference from Dr. I. Ben-Dor). Perhaps the cumulative evidence shows that the Canaanites of Gezer occasionally buried on beds.

[1] This statement is based on the fact that no traces of rock were discovered in the narrow trench, some seven metres long, which we dug at the north east corner of the strip while searching for the foundations of the enclosing wall of the migdol. Compare the plan.

The Tell-Duweir Ewer Inscription.

A Supplementary Note.

Theodor H. Gaster.

WITH reference to Father Burrows' suggestion (QS. 1934, pp. 179-80) that this inscription should be read :

מתן שו[ר מו]ת ואלת

" Gift to Sho[r Mō]t and Elat," the following points would seem to require consideration :—

1. The initial letter of Hebrew שור (bull) represents an original *th*, as is plain from the Arabic and Aramaic cognates. Now, although the *sound* of this *th* passed at an early date into that of the sibilant *sh*, it nevertheless retained an *orthographic* identity in Arabic, South Arabian, and Ras-Shamra cuneiform, losing it only in Hebrew, Aramaic and Ethiopic.

Accordingly, before Father Burrows' interpretation can be accepted it would have to be shown conclusively that the alphabet of " Tell Duweir " (and of Serabit al Khadem) followed in this respect the Hebrew mode, rather than the normal usage of the South.

2. The introduction into this inscription of the Ras-Shamra god Mōt is extremely precarious, for it is more than doubtful whether he was, in fact, a fully fledged god of the cultus, rather than a mere figure of religious folklore and myth. His name nowhere occurs on the purely ritual tablets from Ras-Shamra. He figures only in the poetic texts, which are demonstrably the libretti of sacred pantomimes, and in these he fills much the same rôle as " the Death " in analogous European customs. He represents the spirit of summer-drought, and therefore has a prominent part in the myth which explains the seasonal rites,[1]

[1] v. The present writer's remarks in *Archiv Orientální*, 1932, p.119; *Folklore*, 1933, p.381; *JRAS*, 1934, p.678.

but it is very questionable whether he can be given a place in the formal pantheon, such as would rank him in ritual beside El and Elat.

3. Although the medial waw of the word שור (bull) is radical and no mere *mater lectionis*, it would still have to be proved that it was in fact written in this script, for although Hebrew and Arabic exhibit it, it is omitted in Ras-Shamra cuneiform and in Ethiopic, whilst South Arabian usage is variable.[1]

4. I cannot agree with Father Burrows that the obscure letter of the inscription is an early form of *waw*. It has a far closer similarity with the various earlier forms of *gimel* exhibited by Dr. Eisler in his article on the " Cadmeian " alphabet, JRAS, 1923, p. 51.

5. The three vertical dots are beyond doubt a word-divider. I have already called attention to parallels on a Sigean inscription and on the ostracon from Ain-Shemesh, as well as to the later form in the two dots of Ethiopic. It may now be added that these two dots also appear on early North Arabian inscriptions (*v.* Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, III. pp. 214-7), and that they are, in fact, the prototype of the colon punctuation-mark which appears later in Samaritan, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian and most European scripts.

6. It may also be added that an inscription found on three stones in the foundation of the temple at Jerusalem were interpreted by Bruston in 1928 as being written in a script closely resembling the Sinaitic and thus analogous to ours (*v.* Q.S. 1928, p. 219). An examination of facsimiles, however, does not tend to support this conclusion.

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[1] Similarly, if Father Burrows intends us to read מות it may be remarked that this word is always written defective at Ras-Shamra and in Ethiopic.

Abel's Geography of Palestine*

By George Adam Smith.

This, the most recent systematic Geography of the Holy Land promises to be also one of the fullest and most detailed. The distinquished author, Père Abel, is well-known for his knowledge of the Land, with which by long residence and his missionary service as a member of the Order of Frères Précheurs, he is thoroughly familiar. The work bears the Imprimatur of the authorities of his church. In this the first volume, he surveys in detail the physical and historical geography of Palestine, " The Vestibule " as he calls it of his subject. An introduction of twenty-two pages explains his plan and method, and then details the literary sources of the work : The Egyptian Records from the twentieth century B.C. onward in papyrus and on stone ; The Old Testament and the Hebrew Ostraca found in 1910 among the ruins of Ahab's Palace in Samaria ; followed by the late Jewish evidence that form the Byzantine Period. Then he states the Greek and Roman sources from Herodotus and the Minor Greek Geographers and Historians, onward to Polybius and Diodorus of Sicily, the New Testament, especially in the Gospels and Acts, Strabo, the elder Pliny, Pausanias and others, down through writers in the Early Church to William of Tyre, and other chroniclers of the Crusades ; and thence to Reland, 1714, and thence to Robinson and other Geographers of the Nineteenth century, and the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund and other societies and individuals. There follows a brief account of the modern Cartography. There is not any Table of Contents nor Index to this volume ; for these we must wait till the completion of the work.

This brief summary of the Introduction is sufficient to exhibit the vast range of the author's studies and his ample learning, geographical and historical. To these must be added the carefulness and wisdom of his conclusions, his fairness to other writers and the justice of his statements of views differing

*Géographie de la Palestine par le P. F.—M. Abel Tome I, Géographie Physique et Historique. Paris Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda et Cie. 1933.

from his own. A thorough reading of the volume shows that extremely few, if any, relevant points have been omitted by him, and it will convince the reader of the high and permanent value of his work. Equally conspicuous are his powers of observation, long trained but never tired nor tiring, though they range from Homs and the Orontes to Edom and the penninsula of Sinai, and includes Cyprus. I would praise especially his descriptions of the mountains of Upper Galilee, with their relations to Anti-Lebanon, and of the ridges between Hauran and the Jordan Valley, for I have traversed them both and know them all. But there are other descriptions almost equally vivid and fresh. Yet it is not only the outward features of the country which M. Abel makes clear, but their geological characters : shelving, banks and fissures. His measurements of spaces and distances, heights and gradients are uniformly accurate, and are given along with their effect on the political divisions of various periods, the direction of trade and commerce and the positions of ports and harbours, in spite of natural difficulties.

Volume I consists of two Parts. In Part 1 there are nine chapters on Le Cadre, or Le Relief Syro-Palestinien ; the Delimitation of Palestine ; Aperçu Géologique ; Orographie ; Climate ; Hydrographie ; Minéralogie ; The Flora ; The Fauna —in all, 234 pages. The second Part, Géographie Historique, 262 pages more, contains five chapters : Les Pays Limitrophes ; Limits and Names of Palestine ; The Mountains in History ; the Valleys, Plains and Historic Deserts ; The Hydrography in History—and as their titles indicate correspond to the subjects successively treated in the First or Physical part.

A bibliography is attached to each chapter, and there are references to relevant works and new editions down to recent times. Apparent omissions may be said to be covered by the frequent references to Thomsen's *Palästina-Literatur*. But this is hardly up to date and it would have been an advantage to have a report and discussion of the article in Blackwood's Magazine for February, 1931, upon the route of " The Forty Years' Wanderings " by Major C. S. Jarvis, Governor of Sinai. With much reason he takes Israel north from Goshen by the

coast of the Levant and the Serbonian Bog to Kadesh-Barnea, the present Kadeis. As is well known the Hebrew Sea of Reeds does not suit the Red Sea where no reeds are found, but does suit the Serbonian Bog, and on the coast of the Levant quails abound in spring.

The numerous maps, plans and photographs in M. Abel's volume are all clear.

The above review may seem excessive to such as have not read the work ; but I am sure that all who do read it will admit that I have not praised it too highly.

The Surveys of Palestine

THROUGH the courtesy of the Director of Surveys, Mr. F. J. Salmon, M.C., we have received a copy of the Annual Report of the Survey Department for the year 1933. It appears that the total strength of the Department was 179, of whom 81 worked in the office and 98 in the field ; and of those in the field the greater number were employed upon the cadastral survey which is required for land settlement. The topo-cadastral 1 : 10,000 survey of the Sub-Districts Nablus, Ramallah, Jericho, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron was completed ; and good progress is recorded in the cadastral surveys proper.

As to Town Surveys, it is stated that the quinquennia revision of the plans of Jaffa, Tul Karm, Er Ramle, and Gaza, have been completed, and the quinquennial revision of the plans of Jerusalem is proceeding.

It is interesting to note that the preparation of the series of maps on the scale of 1 : 100,000, of the whole of Palestine, is being carried out according to plan. This scale is about one and a half miles to one inch. The series will cover the country in fourteen sheets, each sheet showing about 700 square miles. The sheets will be contoured. The Jerusalem sheet will be the first to be issued.

In December last a survey of the water resources of Palestine was begun, and the work will be carried out in consultation

with the Departments of Public Works and Development. Its object is " to collect over the whole cultivable area of Palestine sufficient information to form estimates of the present and future resources of the country. Positions and heights above Sea Level of wells and springs will be determined and measurements will be made of discharge or flow." Other information, such as salinity, will be collected. £P. 6,000 has been allocated for the work from loan funds.

The investigation of the variations in the level of the inland seas have been continued. It appears from diagrams which accompany the report which show the monthly heights from July 1927 to January 1934, that the extreme variation noted in the case of the Sea of Galilee was from 200·9 metres below Mean Sea Level in April 1929, to 204 metres below Mean Sea Level in January 1934, a range of just over 3 metres, or 10 feet. In the case of the Dead Sea the extreme range was from 392·1 metres in June 1929, to 393·3 metres in January 1934. The fluctuations of the height of the surface of the Dead Sea are fairly regular, the greatest height occurring in June and the lowest in January ; the average range in the year being about half a metre, or, say, twenty inches.

It is clear that valuable and varied service is being rendered by the Survey Department to the Public and the Government.

C. F. C.

Reviews and Notices of Publications

Emmäus, Sa basilique et son Histoire. By PP. L. H. Vincent et F.-M. Abel, O.P. Paris, Leroux, 1932. pp. xi. and 442.

THIS volume is the latest which we owe to the distinguished collaborators who have already given us *Hebron* and *Bethléem*, besides the still unfinished series of volumes on Jerusalem. It deals with Emmaus, the modern 'Amwās, and, though it is planned on the same generous scale as its predecessors, it differs from them naturally, in character. Hebron and Bethlehem are places which have played a momentous part in the history of Palestine and the famous shrines which they contain are still in use. No such memories attach to Emmaus, its connection with a moving scene in the Gospel of S. Luke has been called in question, and the other references to it in literature are due to its geographical position; they are concerned with the disconnected episodes which would naturally befall a place at a junction of important roads, while the buildings on the site have long fallen into ruin and much debris had to be removed before their character could be determined. The book is in two parts of unequal length, both of them rather controversial; the first and longer section is by Père Vincent, and is devoted to the archæology of the material remains; in the second part, Père Abel discusses with his usual learning all that is known of the history of the place and, in particular, the ground for its identification with the Emmaus of S. Luke; it is to the latter section that I turn first.

The place is known today as 'Amwās. The ruins stand on a pleasant site on one of the foot-hills between the Plain of Ramleh and the mountainous country of Judæa. The modern road from Jaffa to Jerusalem skirts it on the south; two other roads to the capital run north of it. It is tolerably well supplied with water, and the strategic importance of the site as one of the keys to Jerusalem is obvious. There can be no doubt that 'Amwās is the Emmaus mentioned more than once in the book of Maccabees; it was the scene of a victory gained in 166 B.C. by Judas Maccabeus over Gorgias, a general of Antiochus Epiphanes,

and it was fortified a few years later by Bacchides, another Syrian general. It figures again in the fighting which took place after the murder of Julius Cæsar, and during the First Revolt it was the station of one of the legions then employed—Legio V. Macedonica. After the fall of Jerusalem it ceased to be a military centre and Abel disputes with good reason the statement of Sozomenes, that it was in commemoration of this victory that it assumed the name of Nicopolis. He thinks that, like other places in the neighbourhood, Emmaus may temporarily have received an influx of orthodox fugitives from the capital, but that after the Second Revolt in the time of Hadrian, when the centre of orthodox Judaism shifted to Galilee, Samaritans probably formed the preponderant element. Early in the third century of our era, Emmaus entered on a new phase of prosperity, and in 221 A.D. a delegation was sent to Elagabalus to pray for its elevation to the rank of a city. The delegation was headed by Sextus Julius Africanus,[1] a prolific and multifarious Christian writer and friend of Origen; the mission was completely successful, and coins were issued by the city with the new name Nicopolis on the reverse. Africanus who lived for several years longer is said to have presided over the restoration of Emmaus and Abel suggests not unreasonably, that a church was probably included among the new buildings. The Christians of Nicopolis are not known to have suffered in the various persecutions of the church between 250 and 313; in the fourth century the place is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, both of whom identified it with the Gospel site, and bishops of Nicopolis attended the Councils of Nicæa in 325, and Constantinople in 381. There were disturbances here in the time of Julian as at Ascalon, Gaza, Sebaste and Scythopolis, and a miraculous fountain in which Our Lord was believed to have washed His feet was blocked up. In 508 S. Saba took refuge here and founded a monastery which is mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis. It may have suffered during the revolt of the

1. "*Aussi avide de savoir que peu scrupuleux,*" Abel calls him, and adds a delicious note (p. 337)—"*On est quelque peu étonné de trouver sous la plume d'un chrétien des details sur les arcanes aphrodisiaques et les incantations ainsi qu'un réalisme fort cru. Il a des recettes assez surprenantes: ainsi pour empêcher le vin din de s'aigrir on écrira sur les amphores ce verset du Psaume xxxiii (xxxiv):—Goutez et voyez combien le Seigneur est bon, etc.*"

Samaritans in 529, but the writers do not say so, and the last reference before the Persian invasions which Abel has found describes the exploits of a brigand chief who operated in this region towards the end of the sixth century with a mixed gang of Christians, Jews and Samaritans. There was a chance at one moment that Nicopolis would become the Arab capital instead of Ramleh, but in 639, two years after the Arabs entered Jerusalem, a great plague fell out, known as the plague of 'Amwās ; the plague carried off thousands of the people, and Nicopolis sank into obscurity, ceasing to be the seat of a bishop, though still visited by pilgrims. The Crusaders have left two marks of their passage, the ruins of a fine church on the part of the site with which this book is concerned, and the name of an adjoining hill—Latrun which Abel derives from the Frankish *toron*, Latin *turo*.

The story of 'Amwās which Abel has thus put together from a vast number of sources is a model of what a local history should be, and the texts on which it is based are quoted in full in an appendix. *Mutatis mutandis*, it is a story which might be told of a dozen places in Palestine.

The identification of 'Amwās with the Emmaus-Nicopolis of this story has never been questioned and, as we have already noted, Eusebius and Jerome both accepted the further identification of this site with S. Luke's Emmaus. The latter equation, however, has been seriously disputed on the ground that it is too far from Jerusalem for the events recorded. According to the accepted text of S. Luke, the distance between Jerusalem and Emmaus was 60 stades, whereas the actual distance between Jerusalem and 'Amwās by either of the roads used in the first century is about 160 stades. If the common reading stands, the identification falls to the ground, but there is another reading. One group of MSS., among them the Sinaiticus, gives the distance as 160, which is approximately correct. Is it more probable therefore, we have to ask, that the discrepancy between the common reading and the known distance led to a corruption of the manuscripts which now read 160, or that the reading 60 is a mistake introduced by copyists who knew little about Palestine ? It is agreed, according to Abel, that the reading 160 is that of the Palestinian recension, and in a matter of topography this seems in itself a good reason for preferring it, but readers who are

interested should refer to the careful discussion on pages 304 *ff*. In the second place, Abel does well to point out that no one who is acquainted with the country and the habits of the people will find any difficulty in believing that Cleopas and his companion could have walked from Jerusalem to 'Amwās and back on the same day. There does not seem to be any reason therefore to look for some other site which has neither name, nor tradition, nor remains, to recommend it.

It is however not with the site but with the buildings on it that the greater part of this volume deals. The buildings have been the subject of several earlier studies; in 1875 excavations were conducted here by a retired French Officer, Captain Guillemot; they were revisited by the Officers of the Survey, by M. Clermont-Ganneau and others. Various theories were put forward to explain the striking walls uncovered by Captain Guillemot, but his excavations had not been pushed nearly far enough and it was not until a much wider area had been cleared by the French Archæological School during the last decade that it became possible to obtain a satisfactory idea of their character. Thanks to the work of Père Vincent and his colleagues, the foundations of a whole series of buildings have now been bared, in addition to the massive walls which were visible before. The remains are still scanty enough in all conscience; the older walls have been pulled down to build the later; columns and capitals and other architectural details have been carried away with the exception of a few fragments; some damaged mosaic floors and a network of foundations constitute the bulk of the new material. Vincent describes the actual excavation and the finds with extreme minuteness and a wealth of illustration, and although we are not in agreement with all his conclusions the work is one of which the French School may justly be proud.

Apart from some fragmentary remains, which are of secondary importance, there are five considerable buildings to be distinguished. The latest is a small church of the Crusading period which Vincent assigns to the first half of the twelfth century; five or six courses are still standing, it had a single nave with four bays built in front of the central of three apses which belong to an earlier and much larger church. It is this earlier church which has provoked so much controversy in the past.

The apses are built of very massive blocks, the courses measuring from 60 to 88 centimetres high, though the walls are not particularly thick ; parts of eight courses are standing in the central apse which shows externally as three sides of an octagon, and in the south apse the conch is still there. The other walls of the church have disappeared, the stones of which they were constructed having been reused by the Crusaders, whose walls—planned to carry a stone vault—were about twice as thick as those of the earlier church ; but the lines of the north, south and west walls and the lines of the stylobates which divided the nave from the aisles have been clearly traced. The early church was a large basilica with nave and two aisles, and without transepts ; its floor was about 70 centimetres below the floor of the Crusaders. Under the north-west corner of the basilica there were the remains of a house which had been pulled down when the basilica was built ; part of the west wall of the basilica coincided with one of the house walls, and the floor levels were the same, some of the house mosaics being reused in the basilica, a fact which suggests that the house was only destroyed when the church was constructed. The house had extended further to the north and abutting against another of its walls was a smaller basilica which terminated at the east end in a baptistery, and was separated by a small court from the large basilica. These five buildings, the Crusaders' church, the two basilicas, the baptistery and the house, have now to be disentangled.

The house is obviously the first building in the series, and the character of the mosaic floors is the only evidence as to its date. Vincent assigns the mosaics to the Severan period, say, to the beginning of the third century. The great basilica he believes to have been built very shortly after, and in support of this he points to the masonry of the apses ; the height of the courses, the size, cutting and arrangement of the stones, the absence of mortar between the joints, are the criteria upon which he relies ; he compares the masonry with that of Hadrian at Jerusalem, with a fort of the third century at Odroh across the Jordan, and with the palace of Diocletian at Spalato, and he contrasts it with that of Constantine at Bethlehem. The church is therefore, he thinks, to be connected with the rebuilding of Nicopolis after the mission of Julius Africanus. The baptistery belongs to the same period, but the smaller basilica he believes to have been constructed in the sixth century after the greater church

had fallen. If this reconstruction is correct, the monumental basilica at Emmaus was built a century before the time of Constantine, but, though there were many churches before Constantine, so far as we know the earliest *external* apse is that of the Basilica Ursiana at Ravenna which is five-sided (370—384, Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture, 1933, p. 6), and to a plan with *three* apses at the east end there is no exact parallel before the sixth century when it became comparatively common. Vincent therefore has put forward a thesis of staggering boldness which will revolutionise our ideas of early Christian architecture if it is generally accepted.

The reconstruction hinges on the date of the mosaics in the early house, and if these are, as I believe, much later than Vincent thinks, the date of the basilica will have to be brought later still; the plain facts to which Vincent appeals so often against current archæological theory admit of no alternative.

Now the principal field in these mosaics is occupied by a very familiar pattern made up of a series of octagons; small squares separated by rhombs are described on the sides of the octagons, the octagons filled with pictures of animals, the squares and rhombs with varied patterns. Two types of octagon are well-known to students of mosaics. The first is the regular geometrical octagon which occurs on the mosaic of Monnus at Trier, a mosaic probably of the third century (Antike Denkmaeler, I. 47-49, or Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *musivum*, fig. 5252); in this mosaic the octagons have equal sides and equal angles, four out of the eight sides are parallel to the main border round the mosaic, and the rhombs which separate the small squares are all equal. The second type is one that is constructed in a very different way by means of a lattice or network of squares as described in the writer's *Churches at Jerash* (pp. 42-44); in this octagon the sides are equal, but the angles are alternately a little greater and a little smaller than those of a regular octagon, and the rhombs vary in the same way; also this octagon is always set with angles, not sides, at the top and bottom so that none of its sides are parallel to the frame of the field. The photographs on Plates X. and XI, and Vincent's drawings on Fig. 43 and Plate III. prove that the Emmaus octagon is of the second type and that the coloured Plates VII and VIII. which represent an octagon of the first type in the second setting, are at fault. The second type so far as I know occurs only at a

comparatively late period; there are four dated examples at Jerash between 464-5 and 533, another example in Salona (Gerber, Forschungen, p. 79), another in S. Andrew's at Eressos in Lesbos (Sotiriou, Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ αἱ παλαιοχριστιανικαὶ βασιλικαὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1931, p. 189.) and another at Bethlehem (Archbishop of the Jordan in ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, 1934) but none which is earlier than the 4th century. It is to the close of the 5th century that I should attribute the pictures of beasts and Nilotic birds inside the Emmaus octagon and the designs in the squares and rhombs, which seem to me closer to those in the Prophets' church at Jerash (464-5) than to those in Procopius (526-7). The interlaced border falls into the same cycle, as does the pattern with circular panels, among them an inscription, in the field below the octagons, but not the coarse border of lotus flowers *en tête-bêche* between, and the restored riband fragments in which blue occurs: if the main parts belong, as is obviously the case, to the house, these later patches may date from the construction of the basilica. Another mosaic shown on Plate IX (for its position see Fig. 71 L), and the mosaics in the small basilica, so far as I can judge, belong to the earlier house group. In these circumstances we are obliged to date the house at earliest to the end of the fifth century, and it follows that the great basilica cannot be much earlier than the middle of the sixth century. Comparatively massive masonry was in vogue during the time of Justinian, as the narthex at Bethlehem shows, but the "Roman" character and dimensions of the stone work at Emmaus are most easily explained by the fact that these apses were built of blocks taken from one of the earlier buildings in third century Nicopolis. Most Christian buildings in Palestine are constructed of reused material, and when the work has been well done the old stones may not be recognisable as such until the wall is pulled to pieces; I have only been able to recognise what I believe to be a sign of reuse on one of the stones in the 'Amwās apses. This constant reuse of old material renders arguments from the size and dressing of the masonry very dangerous.

The remains of the small basilica are miserably scanty, its presence was not even suspected before the recent clearance. To judge from the plan, it might have been in existence while the house with the mosaics was still standing, and might even antedate the other basilica, though this is not very probable;

the mutilations of the mosaics in it (p. 162), and of the one surviving capital (p. 248), suggest, on the analogy of other sites, that it was still in use during the eighth century when the iconoclastic movement started in the time of Yazid II. The survival of the zoomorphic pictures in the great basilica, on the other hand, apparently indicate that they were already buried, an indication in keeping with the Christian graves which were found there, and the higher mosaics above them.

Our reading of the complicated remains on this site has led us to what is a tamer conclusion perhaps than that reached by their discoverers, but one which does not derogate in any way from the wonderful impressiveness of the ruins and the great value of the new light which has been thrown upon them by the work of the French school. Would that they could be persuaded to continue work in the neighbourhood and reveal something more about ancient Nicopolis. We do not even know whether these ruins lie within the circuit of the ancient city walls, and until we know more, can we exclude the possibility that they may be part of S. Saba's monastery (p. 353) ?

J. W. Crowfoot.

An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament. By W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., Litt.D., and T. H. Robinson, D.D., Litt.D. S.P.C.K., 1934, xvi-472 pp.

This now well-known team of Old Testament scholars has deserved well of the community of students of the Bible. Apart from their many valuable individual contributions to the field of Semitic and Old Testament scholarship, they have, with the appearance of this volume, now completed an indispensable trilogy of handbooks to the study of the Old Testament. In 1930 came the first of the series, *Hebrew Religion, its Origin and Development* ; in 1932 we were given the two splendid volumes of *A History of Israel*, and now comes a book which, perhaps, was the most needed of all, and will be the most widely read, on O.T. Introduction. For several generations students have had no other authoritative and exhaustive Introduction to the Old Testament save Driver's, in its day a monument of sane criticism and wise guidance, and still an invaluable book for serious

students. But it is forty-three years since the first edition appeared, years which have been more fruitful in the increase of knowledge concerning all matters relating to the Old Testament than the whole previous period. Hence the need for a book placing this new knowledge relating to the growth and character of Hebrew literature at the disposal of students has long been felt. Now we have it, and it may be said at once that this third volume of the series is fully up to the high standard set by the earlier ones.

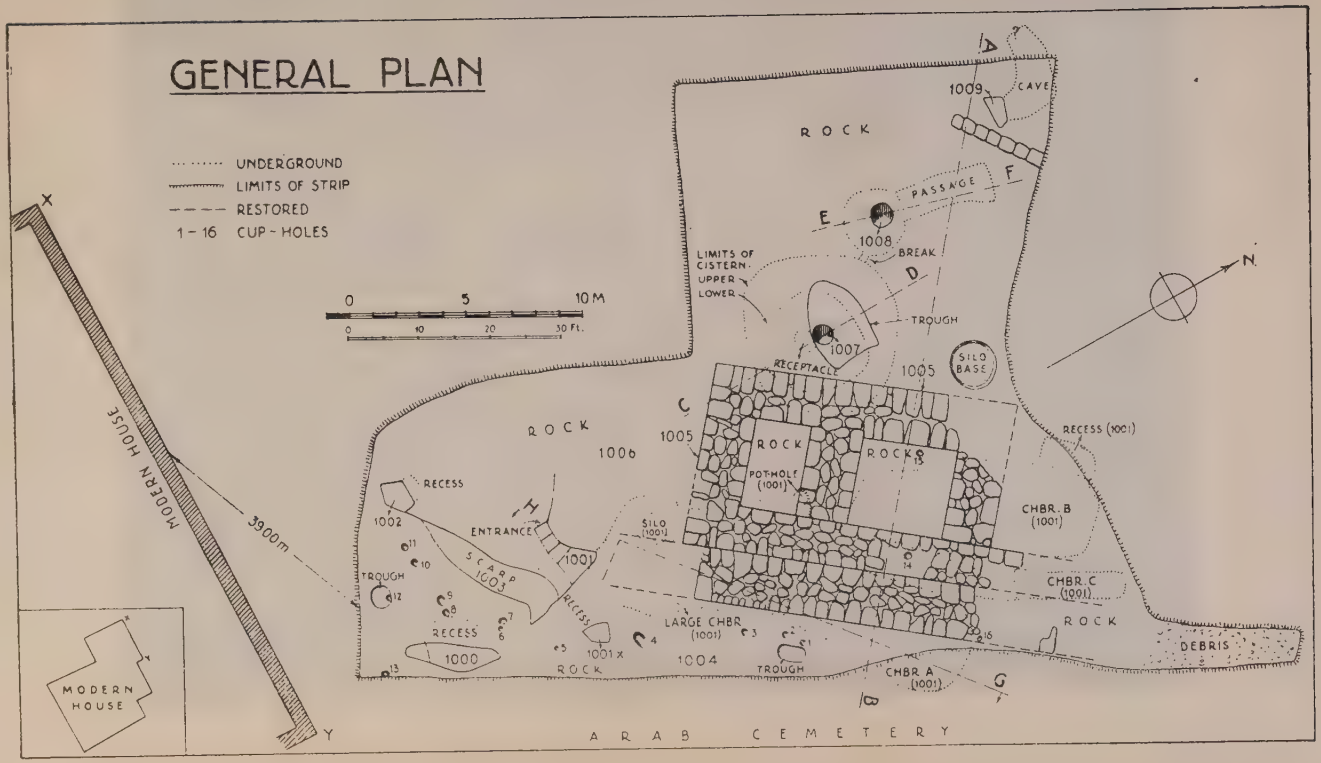
The division of the work between the two authors follows in the main the lines of the History, *i.e.*, the pre-exilic literature has been treated by Professor Robinson, and the post-exilic by his colleague.

Students will welcome the two excellent introductory chapters on the Canon and on the Text of the Old Testament, matters not always dealt with in books on Introduction to the literature of the Hebrew people. The treatment of the Pentateuch is particularly good and clear, and will be a cause of thankfulness to the student who approaches for the first time the maze of documentary criticism. Particularly useful is the very fair and careful examination of those views concerning the structure and date of the Pentateuch which vary from what may be called critical orthodoxy.

Many readers will feel that the best part of the book, where all is good, is the section devoted to the prophetic literature. It is in this field that the greatest advances have been made in recent years, and the authors show themselves fully conversant with all the relevant literature. The section of the book of Ezekiel is particularly interesting. The recent work of Torrey and Herntrich on this book is carefully examined, and the authors are evidently inclined to favour the views of the latter. Daniel is another book upon which much scholarly labour has been expended in recent years, and here also the authors are familiar with all that has has been written, and give a clear and helpful account of the various views which have to be considered by the student.

In the section dealing with the Psalms the epoch-making work of Gunkel and Mowinckel, the latter too little known by English scholars, is placed at the disposal of the student, and much new knowledge is clearly and attractively set out. High

Palestine Exploration Fund: Plan and Sections of Gezer Excavations, 1934.


GENERAL PLAN
UNDERGROUND
LIMITS OF STRIP
RESTORED
1 – 16 CUP - HOLES
0 5 10 M
0 10 20 30 Ft.
N
X
Y
MODERN HOUSE
3900m
MODERN HOUSE
ROCK
1009
CAVE
PASSAGE
F
E
1008
BREAK
LIMITS OF CISTERN UPPER
LOWER
D
TROUGH
1007
RECEPTACLE
1005
SILO BASE
C
ROCK
1006
1005
ROCK
ROCK
POTHOLE (1001)
RECESS (1001)
CHBR. B (1001)
RECESS
1002
ENTRANCE
H
SILO (1001)
1001
SCARP 1003
TROUGH
CHBR. C (1001)
RECESS
LARGE CHBR (1001)
ROCK
DEBRIS
RECESS
1000
1001 X
ROCK
1004
TROUGH
CHBR A (1001)
G
B
A
ARAB CEMETERY

GEZER EXCAVATIONS 1934.

VIEW SHOWING GREAT WALL OF MIGDOL ON LEFT: MIDDLE AND SOUTH-EAST OF TOWER (?) IN CENTRE.

GEZER EXCAVATIONS—1934.

GENERAL VIEW LOOKING NORTH-EAST. TOMB 1001 ON RIGHT.

LONDON: HOUSE OF GLAZIER LTD WATFORD — 1953

GEZER EXCAVATIONS—1934.

POTTERY AND VARIOUS OBJECTS (*for Description see List of Objects*).

Plate VI. *Palestine Exploration Fund*

GEZER EXCAVATIONS—1934.

Gezer Excavations—1934.

Tower (?) of the Migdol (?)—looking North-east.

praise is also due to the treatment of the Wisdom-literature, a field which Professor Oesterley has made his own.

In general it may be said that books dealing with the Introduction to the Old Testament are open to the charge sometimes made against good people, they are inclined to be dull; but this Introduction is remarkably interesting from beginning to end. We find the latest material from Ras Shamra, modern psychology and Hosea's complexes; everything that might serve to illustrate and make vivid to a modern reader a literature that covers a thousand years of ancient history, is here placed at his disposal. S. H. H.

The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew, with Introduction and brief explanatory notes. By Herbert Danby. Oxford University Press, 1933, 18*s.* net.

The Mishnah is the written story in Hebrew dress of Biblical interpretation of the making of bye-laws, of the adding of wise counsel which the intellectual and religious leaders of the Jewish people in Palestine taught during the centuries preceding and following the rise of Christianity. Mainly oral at first, it grew out of the conviction that beside the written Law—the Bible—there has been from the first, from the divine communications to Moses at Sinai, an Unwritten Law handed down from generation to generation which law-giver and prophet strove to engrave on the hearts of the people, and which had as its goal the realisation of the divine will through the singleness and unity of all powers of the common life. As teacher succeeded teacher in synagogue and school, their sayings and often conflicting opinions—all based on the Bible—were treasured. Through long practice the power of memorising had been greatly strengthened, but the accumulated mass of oral traditions and teachings became so vast and unwieldy that the best memory could no longer be trusted. Then there came the necessity for a compilation which would summarise in orderly and systematic arrangement all that was most vital and essential in the teachings of preceding generations and, at the same time, preserve for future generations the vast treasure-house of thought and action, religious aspiration and worldly wisdom wherein they would find inspiration and guidance amid the persecutions and temptations they might

have to encounter. Thus was *The Mishnah* produced. Compiled by Rabbi Judah the Prince (born 135 C.E.), it ranks, in Jewish eyes, second only to the Hebrew Scriptures as a national-religious creation and possession ; and its translation for the first time in its entirety into English is not only a notable achievement redounding to the honour of the translator, but also a notable event in modern Hebraic and Rabbinic scholarship.

The task which Dr. Danby set himself, and which he carried out with admirable skill and success, was by no means easy. For *The Mishnah*, as will have been seen from the brief sketch introducing this notice, is more than a mere collection of wise sayings and moral maxims. As a succinct and precise record of Unwritten Law embracing the whole of the legal and religious system by which Jewish life and action were regulated at the time of its compiler, and based on conclusions arrived at in the schools and academies after long discussions, it affects a style suited to a catalogue of laws—brief, dry and pithy, abounding in statements that appear obscure and ambiguous, and for the discovery of the true import and signification of which one must turn to the Talmud and other later commentaries on *The Mishnah*. It goes without saying that to translate *The Mishnah* demands more than a mere mastery of the Hebrew language in which it was composed. It needs a legal no less than a philological training, a thorough insight into the intricate and often abstruse teachings of the original no less than a fine appreciation of the peculiarities and niceties of Mishnaic idioms and expressions. That the translation provided by Canon Danby reflects the scholarship and disciplined intellect required for the task is evident on every page. Turn wherever you wish and you see before you a mind steeped in Rabbinic lore and possessed of a sensible appreciation of the fine shades of meaning with which the Mishnaic word or phrase is charged. The translation itself, while conforming as far as possible in matter and sequence to the original, is presented in a simple, lucid literary style, and will be welcomed by the student of rabbinic literature as a guide to help him over difficulties in grappling with the Hebrew text. On the side of the notes the work has distinctive merits. While there is no attempt to provide a running commentary, yet they are helpful in explaining allusions and removing occasional surface difficulties. In this respect it is up to date and incorporates the more assured results of historical and archæological

enquiry. One word of warning must, however, be uttered. Students who approach the volume in the expectation of understanding every line of it will meet with disappointment. In the absence of a fuller commentary elaborating the process of logical reasoning and argumentation, as well as the principles underlying the rulings and decisions on diverse themes given in the text, much of the contents will appear to the student practically unintelligible. Yet the translator is not to blame for failing us in this respect. He himself was under no misapprehension as to the magnitude of the task of doing justice to his subject, and rightly resisted the temptation to enlarge on the elucidation and interpretation of the Mishnaic test at the risk of not completing the volume which we gratefully receive at his hands. It is, nevertheless, remarkable that while he negotiates with amazing skill real difficulties, he now and then stumbles rather badly over easy passages, giving them a wrong turn and signification. A few examples alone, where several others might be adduced, may serve as examples :

(*a*) " Gentiles (we read on page 314, section 9) may be helped when labouring in the fields in the Seventh year." The original מחזיקין means they may be *encouraged* when labouring, etc.—a great difference.

(*b*) On p. 369, section 3, the term *ḥazaḳah*, used in connection with " craftsmen," misled him to interpret it as " usucaption," although here the term has the more general connotation of obtaining title by any of the recognised methods of acquisition.

(*c*) On. p. 381, section 7, dealing with the case of two persons bearing the same name living in the same town, his rendering, " if one of them finds among his documents," etc., is pointless, and should read, " If one (*i.e.*, another person) finds among his documents," etc.

(*d*) On page 2, section 1, dealing with the reading of the evening *Shema'* (Hear, O Israel), we are told that the time for the recital thereof begins " when the priests enter [the Temple] to eat of their Heave offering," the words in brackets being inserted as explanatory gloss by the translator. Here he was apparently misled by the expression נכנסין But this very same term occurs in the Talmud (Berakot, 2b), also in connection with the poor man entering to eat of his bread, which means simply when he

enters home. In any case it would be rather interesting to know the authority on whom Canon Danby relied for this strange interpretation.

These inaccuracies do not, however, minimise the importance of Canon Danby's contribution, and the extent of his claim upon our indebtedness to him for making accessible to us in so convenient a format the whole of this second century Hebrew classic, the value of which for the study of comparative religion and comparative law, as well as for the study of the civilisation of the Near East during the first and second centuries of the common era, is increasingly becoming recognised. The volume is introduced by a masterly survey in which are discussed a number of problems relating to *The Mishnah*—its character, scope, origin and method, etc., and is equipped with excellent appendices and indexes, all of which adds to its usefulness and value. It is indeed a book which ought to be on the shelves of every theologian as well as of every student interested in any subject connected, however remotely, with Judaism. I. EPSTEIN.

In the Steps of the Master. By H. V. Morton. London: Rich and Cowan Limited, 1934. 388 pages. Three Sketch Maps (*in the cover*) and Twenty-four Illustrations.

The great popularity of this book shows that the British public has a great interest in Palestine in its relation to the Bible, when such an association can be presented, as here, in an attractive form. Such a method may be considered "old-fashioned" by some whose interest in Palestine is wider both in relation to the distant past and to modern political problems. But it is a good spirit in which to visit the sacred sites. Topographical and archæological problems are scarcely touched upon and some statements are open to serious criticism. Nevertheless this charmingly written and beautifully illustrated book will furnish for a wide public just the information needed to bring the land into a proper relation with the Bible, as a once famous work *The Land and the Book* did for an earlier generation. It will deepen the desire of many a reader to see Palestine for himself. I cannot do better than quote the words of one who was long resident in Palestine to whom I recommended the

book: "I have to thank you most warmly for introducing me to Mr. Morton's book on Palestine. It is entrancing and gives so much unusual information. It is written as if it were true and the writer himself was in sympathy with all that he says."

E. W. G. M.

Traveller's Handbook to Palestine, Syria and Irak. Sixth edition thoroughly revised and partially re-written by Christopher Lumby. pp. 512, 11 maps and plans. London: Simpkin Marshall, Ltd. 1934. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A copy of this sixth edition of "Cook's Guidebook" has just reached us and, though space does not now admit of a long review, we wish to heartily recommend this book without loss of time to all intending tourists to these lands. This handbook is without question the most uptodate Guide to be had. It contains all that an intelligent and educated tourist can need in a guide book. The archæological information, written and here revised by Professor Garstang forms an Appendix of great value and included in this section is the P.E.F. map of the principal excavated sites, constructed by our chairman, Sir Charles Close.

The volume is of handy size for a man's pocket; it is well printed and strongly bound; it abounds in useful maps and is altogether an indispensable companion to every traveller.

E. W. G. M.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.		Hebrew.	English.	
א	’		כ	kh	
ב	b		ל	l	
ב	bh		מ	m	
ג	g		נ	n	
ג	gh		ס	s	
ד	d		ע	‘	
ד	dh		פ	p	
ה	h		פ	f	
ו	v, w		צ	ẓ	
ז	z		ק	k	
ח	ḥ		ר	r	
ט	ṭ		שׁ	sh	
י	y		שׂ	ṣ	
כ	k		ת	t	
			ת	th	

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.	
ا	’		ض	ḍ	
ب	b		ط	ṭ	
ت	t		ظ	ṭẓ	
ث	th		ع	‘	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh	
ح	ḥ		ف	f	
خ	kh		ق	k	
د	d		ك	k	
ذ	dh		ل	l	
ر	r		م	m	
ز	z		ن	n	
س	s		ه	h	
ش	sh		و	w	
ص	ṣ		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

TELL DUWEIR continues to provide exciting discoveries. The latest find consists of a group of inscribed Hebrew potsherds dating from the sixth century B.C. A preliminary description by Sir Charles Marston, with an illustration of one of the sherds, will be found in the present issue of the QUARTERLY STATEMENT. It is hoped that the whole series may be published later in this Journal.

A further instalment of the now famous Ras Shamra tablets is published by M. Ch. Virolleaud in the current issue of *Syria*. It is entitled by the translator: "The Death of Baal," and contains material of great importance and interest.

The current issue of *Antiquity* contains an article by Dr. Cyril Curwen, which will be of interest to Old Testament students. It is concerned with the light thrown by flint sickles on the antiquity of agriculture in Palestine. Some interesting experiments by Dr. Curwen tend to suggest that the peculiar gloss on the flint teeth of these sickles points to their use for the cutting of corn. He puts forward the interesting conjecture that Palestine may have the scene of the first discovery of agriculture.

Dr. Albright announces his conversion to the old date of the Hebrew conquest of Palestine, that is, the twelfth century date. His change of mind is due to the results of his recent excavations at Bethel, described in the latest issue of the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Students of the archæology of Palestine will await with interest the reply of those archæologists who are convinced that the Hebrew conquest

of Palestine is to be connected with the situation described in the Tell el-Amarna Letters, and cannot be later than the fourteenth century. Dr. Albright's actual words are as follows : " The writer abandons a position which he has held for eleven years, and adopts the low date of the Israelite conquest of central Palestine. In connection with this change of position, he also abandons Garstang's view of the date of the Israelite capture of Jericho, and accepts Vincent's view, which he formerly held, but gave up because of apparent archæological evidence." Bull. of the ASOR, No. 56, p. 10.

The attention of readers is called to the latest issue of the Annals of Archæology and Anthropology of the University of Liverpool, Vol. XXI, Nos. 3-4. This admirable production contains the Fourth Report of Professor Garstang's excavation of Jericho, including Mr. Sidney Smith's report on the interesting cuneiform tablet discovered in the recent excavations of Jericho. There is also an important article by M. René Dussaud on the significance of the Ras Shamra discoveries.

Dr. Woolley, in the latest issue of *Antiquity*, discusses the bearing of the new legislation which the Iraqi government is proposing to introduce, upon the work of foreign archæological missions in Iraq. It is a matter of considerable importance to archæologists, and Dr. Woolley clears up a number of misrepresentations which have been made by the Iraqi press.

The lectures held at the Rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund at 2 Hinde Street, in January and February of this year have been well attended and testify to an increasing interest in this aspect of the activities of the Fund. Dr. Masterman gave the first of the series in an admirable lecture on a subject which he has made his own, the topography of some disputed New Testament sites. An abstract of his lecture appears in the present issue. Mr. Sidney Smith very kindly found time from his labours as Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum to give a most valuable lecture in February, on the new material relating to the Hurrians.

Members of the P.E.F. are reminded that the list of publications whose receipt is acknowledged by the Committee in each

issue of the QUARTERLY STATEMENT, represents nearly all the most important publications dealing with matters of interest to students of Palestinian archæology, and that the list contains a selection of those articles appearing in such publications which may be of general value to the student.

We regret to note the death recently of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, who was Director of our Excavations at Ain Shems (Bethshemesh) from July 1910 till December 1912. He was assisted in this work by Mr. Francis G. Newton (who died a few years ago). The results of this excavation were published in the QUARTERLY STATEMENTS for 1911-12 and in *Annuals* Nos. 1 and 2, published 1912 and 1913. He also described in No. 1 "Megalithic Monuments" near Amman. This volume included also a report made by Dr. Dalman, upon el Khazneh at Petra, which was visited in company with Dr. Mackenzie.

The Committee acknowledge with grateful thanks the services rendered by Mr. A. M. Hyamson in a rearrangement of the Fund's Library, and a revision of the card catalogue.

P.E.F. PUBLICATIONS WANTED.—Many of the Fund's publications, both books and maps have become out of print, It is suggested that some members may be disposed to assist the Fund by presenting copies of such works for inclusion in our second-hand list, in the event of their having ceased to be of personal utility. Such works as the Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine, 3 vols., with the Name Lists, Special Papers. Tristram's Fauna and Flora. The Jerusalem Volume with its portfolio of plates, and the portfolio maps of W. Palestine. Also the 13 vols. of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text translations. Palestine under the Moslems, etc., are wanted.

Certain numbers of the QUARTERLY STATEMENT have become scarce, and we would be glad to receive any parts of 1921, October 1934 and January 1935.

The Annual Report and Accounts with list of Subscriptions for the year 1934 is issued to Members with this number.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, University of Liverpool, Vol. XXI, Nos. 3-4. Three North Syrian Terra-Cottas, by D. B. Harden. Ras Shamra, by Rene Dussaud. Jericho, City and Necropolis (Fourth Report), by John Garstang.

The Antiquaries Journal, XV, 1.

The Expository Times, Jan.-Mar. 1935. Recent Biblical Archæology (Feb.), by J. W. Jack.

Iraq, Vol. I, Pt. 2. Excavations at Kish and Barghuthiat, 1933, by S. Langdon and D. B. Harden. A Tammuz Ritual in Kurdistan, by H. Frankfort. The Prehistoric Pottery of Carchemish, by C. L. Woolley.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, lxiv, 11.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 51, 1.

The Near East and India, Jan.-Mar., 1935.

New Judea, Jan.-Mar., 1935.

The American Journal of Philology, lvi, 1. Letters of Cadmus, by Rhys Carpenter.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 56.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, xxx, 1. The Persian Expedition, 1933-1934.

The Geographical Review, Jan., 1935.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, xxv, 3. Sectional Rivalry in the Kingdom of Judah, by R. Gordis. Some Hebrew Etymologies, by J. A. Montgomery.

The Journal of the American Oriental Society, 54, 4. A Hittite Text on the Duties of Priests and Temple Servants, by E. H. Sturtevant.

Report of the United States National Museum, 1934.

Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, xx, 1.

Bulletin de la Société d'Apiculture, Dec. 1934. L'abeile à miel dans l'ancienne Palestine, F. S. Bodenheimer.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hélénique, 1934, 1.

Journal Asiatique, ccxxv, 1.

Revue Biblique, Jan., 1935. Parèlleles nouziens aux lois et coutûmes de l'Ancien Testament, by C. H. Gordon.

Syria, xv, 4. La Mort de Baal: Poême de Ras Shamra, (I, AB), by Ch. Virolleaud.

Archiv für Orientforschung, x, 1-2. Der biblische Verkiündigungsstil und seine vermutliche Herkunft, by Paul Humbert. Kleine Bemerkungen zu Texten aus Ras Schamra und zu phonizischen Inschriften, by J. Friedrich.

Orientalistische Literatürzeitung, Jan.-Mar., 1935. Reviews: The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature (J. Sarachek), by G. Scholem. Die Einwanderung Israels in Canaan (F. Schmidtke), by C. Steuernagel. The Church of Israel (R. H. Kennett), by J. Benzinger. The agricultural life of the Jews in Babylonia (J. Newman), by S. Krauss. The History of the second Jewish Commonwealth (S. Zeitlin), by J. Benzinger. Notes on the Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo (R. M. Engberg and G. M. Shipton), by C. Watzinger.

Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, xi, 4. Zur Talionsformel, by A. Alt. Notes on the Text of Lamentations, by G. R. Driver. Once more on the Text of Lamentations, by T. H. Robinson.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 57, 3-4, Palästinas Urlandschaft, by R. Gradmann.

Associazione Inter. Studi Mediterranei, v. 4-5.

Biblica, 16, 1. La Technique des fouilles archéologiques, by C. du Mesnil du Buisson. Das Alter der neuentdeckten Schädel von Nazareth, by P. Joüon.

Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana, iii, 1-2. Contributi alla storia della Siria settentrionale. A proposito della popolazione di Ugarit, l'odierna Ras Shamra, by D. Diringer Religiosita premisterica in Mesopotamia, by E. M. Cassin.

Archiv Orientalni, vi. 3 An Aramaic Exorcism, by C. H. Gordon.

Al Mashrik, xxxii, 4.

Bible Lands, Jan. 1935.

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, xiv, 4. Semitised Hurrians in Syria and Palestine, by H. L. Ginsberg and B. Maisler.

NEA ΣION, Oct.-Dec., 1934.

Beth-Shan : Earliest Pottery. Tell Billa : First Assyrian Level, by G. M. Fitzgerald and C. Bache. The Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania, xxiv, 1.

Monumenta Historiam et Geographiam Terrae Sanctæ illustrantia. F. Stummer.

Work in Western Thebes, 1931-33, by H. N. Nelson and U. Hölscher. Oriental Institute of Chicago.

Einige Kleinfunde aus Palästina und Syrien, by A. Jirku.

The Jewish Review, 1-8. Kindly presented by Mr. A. M. Hyamson.

Jezus es Maria Ereklyei, by S. Lajos.

Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1933-4.

Some Aspects of Amun, by G. A. Wainwright. Offprint from the Journal of Egyptian Archæology, xx., 3-4.

The Combat of Aleyan-Baal and Mot : The Second Tablet, by T. H. Gaster. Offprint from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Jan. 1935.

The Fall of Bronze Age Jericho.

By Professor J. Garstang, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.S.A.

THE fourth season's work upon the site of Jericho proved particularly fruitful and instructive, and the editor of the *Q.S.* is desirous that subscribers to the P.E.F. should learn what light it has thrown upon the question of the city's fall and the date of that event. A long review of the details, which are both numerous and technical, would be perhaps out of place, but the interested reader will find the relevant evidence discussed with the help of some thirty plates of illustrations in the current issue of the *Annals of Archæology* of the University of Liverpool. It will be sufficient, then, to give a brief recapitulation of the nature of the evidence and the conclusions.

Readers of the *Q.S.* will recall that our earlier years of investigation had been devoted, in the main, to determining the lines and development of the city's ramparts, and to the exploration of the necropolis. In both these independent pieces of investigation it was found that four successive phases of Bronze Age culture were represented, ranging from the Early Bronze Age to the opening phase of the Late Bronze Age.

In the city these successive phases were represented by four different defensive systems, enclosing occupied areas varying in extent. The earliest city (A) of E.B.A. is still undefined, but thanks to Sir Charles Marston's continued interest and generosity, it has been the special objective of the fifth expedition.[1] City B covered the top of the mound, and was surrounded by a stout wall of large grey bricks, well built, and still for the most part well preserved: it covers the culture period which may now be called EB3. City C was larger, extending down the slopes on all sides and enclosing

1 Active work of the 1935 season is now completed. The investigations have extended to the bottom of the E B A levels and into the underlying stone age; but no fresh work has been done upon the walls themselves. The B wall proves to have been constructed during the culture period of our tomb A, which in conformity with results obtained elsewhere, can be regarded as typifying the last phase of the Early Bronze Age.

the spring completely: it was surrounded by a stone glacis, with fosse and parapet, and represents the culture phase M.B. II, including the Hyksos period, evidently a time of local prosperity (*c.* 1900–1600 B.C.). This was succeeded by a more modest city (D), which was again confined to the top of the mound, now much higher, and its brick ramparts (built of smaller reddish bricks on a shallow foundation of stone), followed on the western side the line of the older system of city B, on which in fact they largely rested. The disentangling of these two walls in a section already described (*Q.S.*, 1931, p.p. 186 *ff*) brought this piece of investigation to an end.

In such houses as were preserved against the face of wall D were found a few Cypriote and painted fragments as well as domestic pottery characteristic of L.B. I. But the upper parts of the walls and houses were denuded, and the approximation of 1400 B.C. as the date of destruction was based upon the absence in the associated strata and debris of any evidence of occupation in L.B. II. The whole was covered by a deep layer of attrition and decay, over which again lay Iron Age deposits and walls, and in one particular area a number of intrusive Byzantine burials.

If reliable data had existed at the time for dating the local domestic pottery, the analysis then made of many thousands of now familiar potsherds would have determined within broad limits the period of L.B. occupation; but in the absence of local criteria, the conclusion would have remained open to doubt, because it was to be foreseen (at any rate as a matter of precaution) that the cultural development disclosed by excavation on other sites of Canaan, nearer the main trade routes of Egypt, might not be parallel with that of Jericho, which stood relatively isolated from the coastal influences and exposed rather to the east of Jordan, where the archæology of the Bronze Age is almost a closed book. As a matter of fact, it now appears from Mr. FitzGerald's work in the Bronze Age levels at Beisan, and his publications, that Jericho shared much the same cultural development as Bethshan; but happily it proved to be unnecessary to rely upon comparisons from far

afield, for the location of the necropolis of Jericho itself provided just the criteria that were wanting for the more precise interpretation of our finds.

The tomb deposits illustrated the same periods and sequence of cultures as have been observed within the city; ranging from Early Bronze Age to Late Bronze Age I; and, as in the city, the Hyksos period was the best represented alike in numbers as in the elegance and variety of its ceramic products. Some forty tombs were found, some of them evidently family or tribal vaults that had continued in use for generations. A large proportion was found relatively undisturbed, so that out of the great number of 2818 pottery forms recovered more than a thousand represent intact or nearly whole specimens. This rich material has now been mostly published in *The Annals of Archæology*, and the following is a brief statistical analysis of its bearing upon our present inquiry.

Tombs examined 43; containing deposits 26.

Specimens of	E.B.A.	(approximately)	55
,,	,,	M.B.A. I (now called E.B.3.)	891
,,	,,	M.B. IIa (including Hyksos)	1,012
,,	,,	M.B. IIb (sixteenth century B.C.)	519
,,	,,	L.B. I (fifteenth century B.C.)	320
,,	,,	L.B. II (about)	7
,,	,,	E.I.A. I (about)	14
			2,818

This table speaks for itself: the life history of Jericho as represented by its normal funerary practices came to an abrupt end before the culture of L.B. II became established. Happily the deposits themselves also furnished the nearer clues required for establishing the date of this implied catastrophe. In tomb 5, which contained more than 600 objects in intelligible stratification, were found scarabs of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. at levels where the change of culture from M.B. IIb to L.B. I was well marked; while in tomb 4, in which a further change towards L.B. II was just indicated by the uppermost deposits, were found two scarabs of Amenhetep III., whose reign closes the fifteenth century B.C.

Needless to say, this vast material has thrown new light on many dark spots in our understanding of the archæology of Canaan, and a number of arguments based on a theory of evolution in form and technique give place to the evidence of facts. The round and flat-bottomed lamps, for example, are found to have developed simultaneously ; in an early tomb one such was, indeed, found within the other. But on the whole, the general development of culture and the sequence of phases illustrated by these deposits, falls within the ramework already established by scholars who have kept abreast with the remarkable progress of excavation in this country during the last decade. In particular, it may be noted that during the Hyksos (or M.B. II) period, elegance of form distinguishes the ceramic products, to give way in L.B. I to painted motives, accompanied by, and sometimes imitating imported products, such as are familiar in Cyprus and in Egypt in the age of Thutmose III.

Locally in Jericho, the most popular and distinctive vessel is a small jug with rather globular body, strong neck, and two small vertical loop handles rising from the shoulders. The decoration is usually a snake motive between parallel lines. This class of vase appears before the age of Hatshepsut and dies out with the fifteenth century. At Bethshan, Mr. FitzGerald informs me, there has been found a similar specimen associated with a scarab of Amenophis II.

It would be interesting to point out some other more general conclusions ; but it suffices for our immediate purpose to refer particularly to the evolution of the lamp, which is seen gradually (but not steadily) changing its standard form from the saucerlike object with a notch to hold the wick characteristic of M.B. II, until by the time of Amenophis III. the wick-holder had become a pronounced feature and the rim of the bowl was occasionally thickened to give it strength. This type is, however, intermediate, and much less developed than the lamps characteristic of the Ramesside period elsewhere. Though the various stages of this development can be singled out, it would not be safe to date any particular specimen by analogy more closely than with a margin of fifty years : on the other hand, it is to be

recognised that in the Jericho series, the thickening of the rim and pronounced pinching of the wick-holder (to the extent of about a third of the diameter of the bowl), are seen to be characteristic of the late fifteenth century B.C. These examples serve to indicate how useful these closely dated materials have proved for a detailed study of the pottery found within the city.

Before leaving the subject of the tombs, however, it is to be noted that the series of scarabs, 170 in number, ends with the reign of Amenhetep III. Only one specimen of presumably later date has been found, and that was altogether peculiar, showing a deity standing upon an animal's back: it was found with iron and bronze objects in a round cremation pit quite different from the standard grotto or shaft tombs of the Bronze Age. This deposit suggests indeed the presence on the spot of a foreign garrison under the Ramesside rulers. There is also to be noted the rarity of Mycenaean forms within these tombs, in which three examples only were found (classed above as possibly L.B. II), though such are among the most distinctive features in deposits of L.B. II in most other sites of Palestine. Three vases, even if they belong indubitably to L.B. II, cannot be regarded as evidence of a period of general occupation. Thus our investigations in the necropolis disclose a gap in the Bronze Age series after the reign of Amenhetep III. In the light of these established criteria we return in conclusion to the most recent investigations within the city.

During the course of investigations in 1931, an area had been located on the eastern slope of the mound overlooking the Spring, where surface deposits of the Iron Age gave hope of finding the strata of earlier centuries intact. Soundings made in 1932 having confirmed this prospect and established the relative importance of the remains, work in 1933 was concentrated upon this spot. It is a piece of rising ground, familiarly called Spring-hill (the Quell-Hügel of the earlier German expedition), and the steep slope, with the consequent difference of level in the various strata, involved a measure of technical difficulty in the conduct of the work and in the interpretation of certain details.

In broad outline, however, the results are definite and conclusive. The area proved to be stratified and, except for the surface building, which had been already cleared, the different layers were homogeneous and representative of successive epochs of occupation, notwithstanding the disturbances caused by occasional destruction of buildings and their reconstruction. The uppermost stratum and the peculiarly massive stone building within it proved, as had been already surmised, to pertain to the early part of the Iron Age (1100-900 B.C.) ; the next stratum, with two houses, one large the other small, to the earlier phase of the late Bronze Age (1550-1400 B.C.) ; and the third stratum, which was by far the deepest and richest in deposits, to the second phase of the Middle Bronze Age, including the Hyksos period, 1800-1600 B.C. Soundings made to a greater depth, below the floors of the contained buildings, disclosed further traces of the same culture period.

In the third or lowest stratum, the whole slope was filled with the remains of store rooms, to the number of more than 50. forming a connected system, and the top of the hill was occupied by the foundations of an important building, to which they were structurally attached. The floors of these rooms were mostly stocked with great store-jars, in which the traces of grain were most abundant, while the dregs of barley-beer and other beverages were not uncommon. Many of these rooms were found to have been ravaged by fire, possibly resulting from spontaneous combustion, to prevent which the jars were at one time covered with earth so that their mouths only appeared at floor level. The handles of some of these vessels were found to be stamped with the names of kings written in the Hyksos characters, others with the names of a royal treasury official, styled the "Scribe of the Vezir." Clearly this place was used as an emporium of the Hyksos leaders during their conquest and occupation of Egypt. A scarab in Egyptian hieroglyphs found in one of the adjoining tombs may date the beginning of this epoch to the thirteenth Egyptian dynasty (c. 1800 B.C.).

A second phase in the use and occupation of the rooms followed a fairly general conflagration, which necessitated the

raising of the walls and floors by about a metre. At this new level were found numerous interesting relics of Hyksos ceramic art, mostly typical of the period, but some unique. Among the latter are a drinking cup shaped like a deer, another like a bird with wings, and a tall chalice-like vessel of fine pink pottery, part of the contents seemingly of a shrine, along the handle of which was moulded a spotted snake, the head descending towards the inside of the vessel. This object was reconstructed in the workshop under Mrs. Garstang's supervision from no fewer than seventy-three fragments. Hardly any object in this chaotic ruin was found intact, and care was taken to collect the related fragments. The work of clearing the rooms was done, in fact, by experts, working as in the tombs with brush and trowel.

This complex building was found to have been destroyed by a devastating fire, which had cracked the walls and distorted even the pottery already baked. This complete demolition may well have been the work of the avenging Pharaohs about 1600 B.C.; and it is interesting to note that a scarab of Ka.Mes, who is thought to have preceded the liberator of Egypt, Aahmes, was found in one of the contemporary tombs.

This layer of destruction lay apparently for some little while in a state of neglect; but within fifty years, to judge by the pottery fragments littered upon the surface, began the task of restoration and reconstruction. Stout retaining walls were built to restrain further subsidence in the loose debris, and the palace rose once more upon its original foundations. The store-rooms against its walls were rebuilt, but the rest of the royal enclosure remained still for some time unoccupied by further buildings, until towards the end of the period an earthquake or subsidence seems to have brought down the palace wall, the debris of which covered the whole surface of the slope. Further retaining walls were built and a good sized brick-walled house was constructed upon a terrace dug more horizontally in the accumulated debris. The site of this palace itself was found so disturbed that it is not possible to trace its story clearly; in any case there were no indications of further reconstruction, and it would seem probable that the large house men-

tioned, took its place during the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Though this and certain other details of development remain obscure, the occupation of this level during the fifteenth century B.C. is well attested by numerous characteristic specimens of decorated pottery, including imported wares from Cyprus, but none of Mycenæan style. Comparison with the specimens found in the stratum of Thutmose III. at Beisan (Bethshan), and with the series of local types from the tombs dated by scarabs of the same Pharaoh, leaves no doubt as to their period. On this fundamental fact archæologists are happily agreed. The most typical vessels from city and tombs are found, in fact, to be identical in style, and include plentifully, the two handled jug already described; fragments are illustrated in Fig. 1. The series comprises also specimens of the standing Cypriote jugs and developed form of lamp (without, however, the reinforced rim) which were found among the latest tomb deposits, and are dated by scarabs to the reign of Amenophis III. The buildings of this period were found all destroyed by an intense fire, which has in places baked and cracked the bricks, and left over the ruins a knee-deep layer of charcoal and white ash.

Looking back, we find the evidence derived from each separate piece of investigation, among the walls, in the tombs, and the stratification of the palace area, to point unanimously to the same conclusion, namely, that the normal life of Bronze Age Jericho was brought abruptly to an end during the reign of Amenophis (or Amenhetep) III., who reigned approximately from 1411 to 1375 B.C. Five seasons devoted to the examination and excavation of this site have convinced me that no other conclusion can satisfy the abundant circumstantial evidence bearing upon this date.

JERICHO

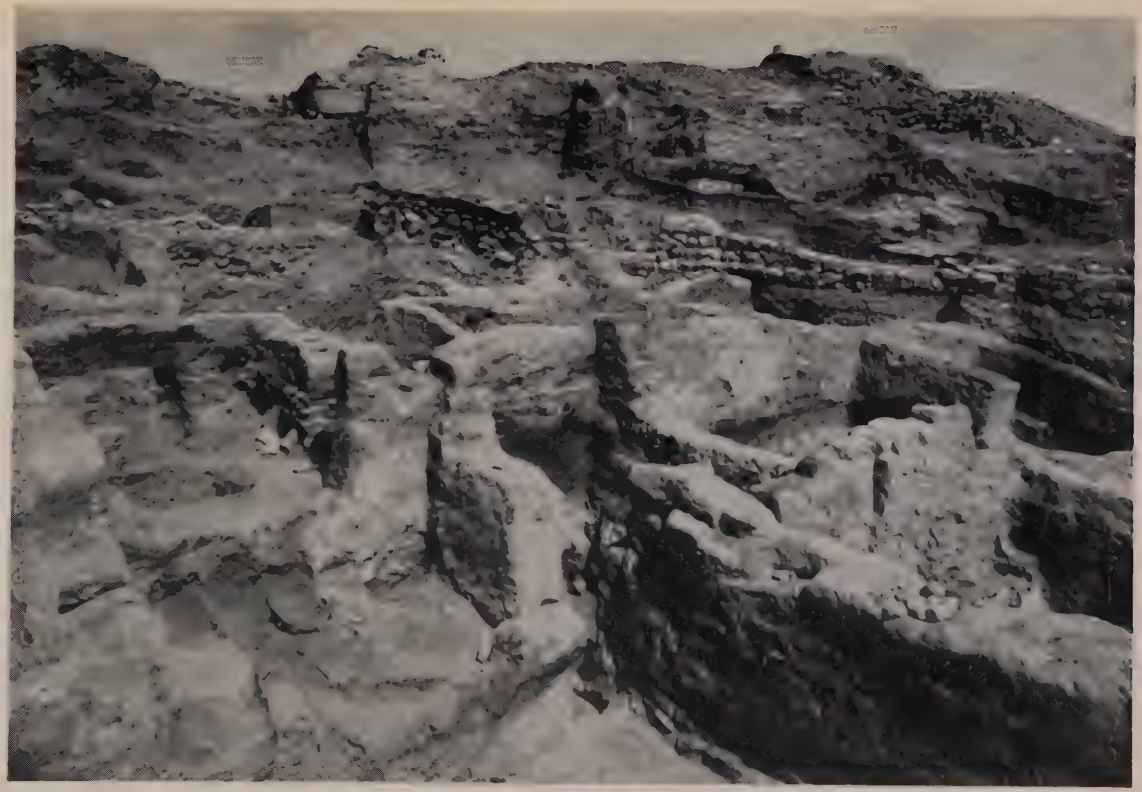
PALACE AREA, 1933. TYPICAL PAINTED POTSHERDS OF L.B.I. FROM THE MIDDLE STRATUM.

JERICHO

HEAVY STONE WALL WITH RE-ENTRANT FEATURE OVERLYING THE LATE HYKSOS STORE ROOMS AND DATED TO L.B.I. DATE ABOUT 1500 B.C.

Jericho

Upper destruction layer of the Hyksos store rooms with characteristic pottery, transitional in style M.B.II.—L.B.I. coming to view. Date about 1600-1550 B.C.



JERICHO

PANCHROMATIC VIEW OF PALACE STORE ROOMS SHOWING WHITE AND BLACK TRACES OF FIRE ON MUD-BRICK WALLS AND IN EARTH STRATA OF BACKGROUND.

JERICHO

LATEST CITY WALL OF THE BRONZE AGE OVERLYING AN OLDER WALL OF M.B.I. ON THE BRINK OF THE SLOPES.

Mirage in the Wilderness

By Canon W. J. Phythian-Adams

THE Editor has very kindly invited me to take up the challenge which he threw down in the October 1934 Q.S. (p. 209) and to attempt a detailed refutation of certain arguments which in his view are fatal to the main contentions of my book, *The Call of Israel*. I gladly respond and will attempt to be as brief as possible.

First for some general observations. I should not agree that the theories which have been advanced from Wellhausen onwards in opposition to the "canonical" tradition have necessarily to be disposed of before the tradition itself can be interpreted, and if in my book I have treated them "cavalierly," it is because I am anxious that Bible-readers should not be misled on a really important point. I have, in fact, deliberately reasserted a principle which I believe to be fundamental, that "*a prevailing tradition should be accepted provisionally, unless and until there is tangible evidence to disprove it*[1]." Had I been aware of any such *tangible evidence*, I should naturally have dealt with it; but in spite of the editor's reference to "excavational sources," I can still find no material or circumstantial reason for rejecting the "canonical" tradition. No question of "orthodoxy," of course, enters in here, though the term "canonical" might seem to suggest it. It is rather a matter of ordinary commonsense, which refuses to be budged for any but the most cogent reasons from a position which has for so many centuries held the field. I hope, then, that in accepting this challenge, I shall not be taken as assenting to the view that I regard this task as inevitable. I would assert, rather, that "the burden of proof" rests with those who would overthrow the Horeb Tradition[2] and that the evidence which they produce

1 *The Call of Israel*, p. 84.

2 It is perhaps necessary to state what is meant by this term. I have endeavoured to show (C.I. Add. note p.131) that in the pre-exilic tradition (as seen *e.g.* in Deuteronomy) the Mount of God which was the scene of the Theophany lay in the land of Midian (E. of the Gulf of Akaba) and was called Horeb, and that the identification of this Mount with Sinai (*i.e.* Jebel Musa) is due to the post-exilic "Priestly" editors. The Horeb tradition is therefore the "canonical" tradition of the Exodus, wanderings and settlement, freed from the embellishments of the "Deuteronomic" and "Priestly" editors.

must be proportionately solid and convincing.

The Horeb Tradition then, (for we naturally begin with this) relates that the twelve tribes of Israel, led by the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, marched across the desert to the land of Midian and entered into a Covenant with Jahweh (the Name now revealed to them through Moses) at the foot of Horeb the burning Mount of God. Thence, with the Sacred Stones received at the Mount and now carried in the Ark, they marched to Kadesh-barnea. There spies were dispatched to reconnoitre the land but their report (save for that of Caleb) was unfavourable. An unsanctioned invasion of the Negeb was nevertheless launched but this was disastrously routed. The people were then commanded to retire to the Yam Suph (the Gulf of Akaba) and after "compassing Mount Seir" to advance northwards along the frontier of Edom and Moab. After the defeat of Sihon and Og, Joshua led the invasion across Jordan.

We need not go further, for the rest of the story can be dealt with as the various points arise. What now are the arguments against its general accuracy?

I. The Settlement in Canaan.

It is urged that "there exist weighty reasons for holding this conception of an early organised unity of the tribes as the reading of later conditions back into a period when they were not so existent. Evidence, when carefully weighed, seems to postulate the conclusion that Joshua was not the leader across Jordan of a united body of twelve tribes, but of a certain section only—the Joseph tribes, and that the remaining tribes entered Canaan and won their heritage by other means and at other periods[1]." We have now to consider this evidence.

(i) We may for convenience take first the mention of Asher (Asaru) as occupying Galilee in the reigns of Seti I and Rameses II and of Israel as a people already in Canaan in the reign of Merneptah[2]. This evidence would certainly so far disprove the

1 Burney. Israel's Settlement in Canaan. Schweich Lectures 1917, page 28.

2 Burney, *op cit.* p. 83.

Tradition if the Exodus did not occur until the reign of Merneptah ; but the excavational evidence from Jericho now proves quite unambiguously that the invasion led by Joshua took place about 1400 B.C. This argument therefore collapses.

(ii) It is argued that the tribes of Judah and Simeon probably moved up into the Negeb northwards from Kadesh-barnea and did not cross Jordan with the tribes led by Joshua. In Judges i. 17 it is stated that Judah and Simeon after moving southwards from Jericho into the Negeb of Arad "*smote the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath and utterly destroyed it* (" devoted " it). *And the name of the city was called Hormah* " (" devoted "). But in Numbers xxi. 1-3, while Israel are still in the wilderness it is said that having been attacked by the king of Arad, they made a vow to " devote " his cities to Jahweh, and this being done (when, it is not stated) "*the name of the place was called Hormah.*" It is claimed that these accounts must at bottom be identical and that as the tribe of Judah is known to have included Edomite and North Arabian elements (Kenizzites, Kenites, Jerahmeelites) it is much more probable that the Numbers version of an invasion from the South is the true one. It is pointed out, further, that the absence of Judah and Simeon from the Song of Deborah suggests that these tribes were not yet in touch with those of northern Israel, and it has even been asserted that they were in the end only drawn to one another by the pressure of Philistine hostility[1]. With these two tribes Levi should also be associated, since Simeon and Levi seem to have been coupled together from very early times (Genesis, xxxiv. 25-30 ; xlix. 5). The fact, too, that in the " canonical " tradition Levi is represented as the priestly tribe has suggested to some scholars that the Levites had long before the Exodus established a Jahweh Sanctuary at Kadesh (Ain Kadeis[2]). The association of the Levites with Judah in Judges xvii. 7 ff.,

1 Burney, *op. cit.* p. 28*f.* Hölscher. *Gesch. der israel. und judisch. Religion*, p. 58. Holscher holds that the name " Israel " belonged originally only to the northern tribes. How he deals with this name in Nu. xxi, 1—3 is not clear.

2 So *e.g.* Hölscher (op. *cit.* p. 64), Olmstead (*Hist. of Pal. and Syria*, p. 252). R. Weill. *Le Sejour des Israelites au désert.* p. 80 ff.

and xix. 1, is also thus explained. The general conclusion advanced by Burney on this matter is that the tribes of Simeon and Levi being settled in the desert region bordering on Egypt with those north Arabian clans which eventually formed part of the tribe of Judah took refuge in Egypt in time of famine and were thus brought into touch with the Joseph tribes. After a period spent in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-barnea, while the Joseph tribes broke off and moved round Edom to enter Canaan from east of Jordan, taking with them the Ark with its priestly (Levitical) caretakers, the main part of the tribe of Levi preferred like Simeon to remain with the Judean clans and moved northwards with them into the Negeb and the Hill-country beyond it[1].

Let us now take these arguments in order. The name "Hormah" occurs yet again in an earlier chapter of Numbers (xiv.), but it marks there not an Israelite victory but a crushing defeat: "*The Amalekite came down, and the Canaanite.....and smote them and beat them down, even unto Hormah.*"[2] It marks, that is to say, precisely the opposite of a successful invasion of the Negeb from the south, and the name Hormah itself, so far from having been given by the triumphant Israelites, is already in existence to denote the completeness of their rout! Which of these two conflicting versions is more probably the true one—that which contains this curious name as an incidental detail or that which seeks to give it an ætiological explanation, that which remembers it as the scene of an old defeat or that which uses it as the symbol of a national tribal victory?[3]

1 Burney, *op. cit.* p. 48.

2 Nu. xiv. 45. It is surely a strange misunderstanding on the part of Gressmann (*Mose* p. 299) to assume that the narrative implies the retention of this place by Israel (*cf.* Josh. x. 10).

3 Gray (*Numbers*, p. 272) points out that the fragment (Nu. xxi. 1-3) has long been recognised as being out of place in its present context. Note, too, the use of "*Israel*" as the speaker and actor. This should mean that the *whole nation* was involved, not two isolated tribes: in other words it is the defeat of Nu. xiv. 45, distorted into a victory and therefore manifestly unreliable. Alternatively, it is a variant of Jud i. 17 (Steuernagel) but with an inferior text (Gressmann p, 299, n. 2): in other words it was a tribal attack delivered from the north southwards.

But, as it happens, we can offer an even more cogent piece of evidence. If this name were really derived (in accordance with these claims) from a solemn vow which "devoted" the city to Jahweh, then, as in the similar "devotion" of Jericho, the place would have been left in ruins and never again inhabited. Its very name would have been a continual reminder of the "Tabu." Actually Hormah was one of the places assigned to Simeon (Joshua xix. 4) and was flourishing in the time of David (1 Samuel xxx. 30). This would seem decisive against the proposed ætiological explanation.

The association of Simeon with Levi in patriarchal times needs no comment, but so far from there being a suggestion of its continunance after that period, it is said of these tribes in the Blessing of Jacob—presumably a "prophecy after the event"—"*I will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel.*" There is certainly no tangible evidence for a Levite tribal element in the Simeonite Negeb nor, as will be shown later, is there any trace of a Jahwistic or any other kind of sanctuary at Ain Kadeis. The whole problem of Levi is admittedly a difficult one, but it will not be assisted to a solution by such conjectures, still less by a too credulous reliance upon the apocryphal additions to the Book of Judges. No one again will deny that Judah and Simeon must have been cut off from the rest of Israel during the early centuries of the Settlement, but this does not affect the problem of how they entered the country in the first place. It is not disputed too that Judah in historical times included a strong Edomite or north Arabian element, but we have still to explain how such a tribe could obtain the hegemony over the whole of the rest of the nation, if its origins are to be sought solely among the half-nomads of the Negeb, and its occupation of southern Palestine had no connection with the tribes which invaded Canaan under Joshua. According to Burney, as we have seen, such a connection did exist and was only broken off at Kadesh-barnea. He goes back in fact on his original assertion that only the Joseph tribes were led out of Egypt by Moses, and only a thin line separates him in the end from the "canonical" tradition.

So much for the arguments in favour of a " southern invasion," but something still remains to be said. It is safe to assert that nothing would have been heard of this conjecture, but for the disastrous error of identifying Kadesh-barnra with Ain Kadeis.[1] Once this was done, and the Israelites were pictured as wandering about between Beersheba and the Peninsula of Sinai, the idea of a northward advance from Ain Kadeis very naturally came to the front. But the Horeb Tradition knows nothing of this Negeb-wandering : it carries Israel at once to the land of Midian (that is, to the east of the Arabah and the Gulf of Akaba). From Kadesh-barnea (probably Petra) an abortive attack upon the Negeb is certainly recorded, but this is all ; and there is not the faintest suggestion that any of the tribes detached themselves from the main body and made a second and more successful attempt upon Canaan from the Rift Valley. What conceivable objection is there, then, to taking the story as it stands ? If there is one, it has certainly not yet become tangible.

(iii) It is argued[2] that the picture of Israel's settlement in Canaan which is drawn in Joshua i.–xii. (JE.), and edited by the deuteronomic Redactor (Rd.) is at variance with that which we find in " an old document of the first importance " in Judges i. In the former (it is said) we are shown a " well-organised and victorious campaign of the whole of the Israelite tribes under the leadership of Joshua, resulting comparatively speedily in the reduction of all Canaan from south to north " (with certain specified exceptions). In the latter, on the other hand, we have the story of a gradual and partial settlement effected mainly by the efforts of individual tribes. Since this older document tells a far more probable story than the other sources, and since the only *conquest* actually mentioned in it is that made by the Joseph-tribes[3], it may be reasonably inferred that it was these tribes only which followed Joshua across the Jordan and that the others entered and occupied their respective areas individually and at different times.

1 See below p.
2 Burney, *op. cit.* p. 16, 27 f.
3 Burney, p. 35.

This summary of a long, and largely speculative, argument may seem to do less than justice to its champions, yet there is no need to go further, for it contains the seeds of its own refutation. First, it is vitiated at the outset by a curious misunderstanding. It is not true to say (and this is certainly suggested) that the JE. narrative, when denuded of its Rd embellishment, presents an exaggerated picture of the invasion and settlement. On the contrary, as Garstang has shown convincingly in his recent book[1] this narrative not only proceeds on natural lines but has been remarkably substantiated by topographical and excavational research. It begins with the fall of Jericho and the gaining of a footing on the mountains at Ai. Then follows the alliance manœuvred by the Hivite cities and the attack launched against them by the South Palestine Confederacy (a normal and indeed inevitable reaction), their appeal for help to Joshua, and the great victory of Beth-horon. The consternation produced by this event spreads rapidly to the north of Palestine, a second coalition of local princes prepares to deal with the invaders, and there follows the second great victory at the Waters of Merom. These two campaigns having crushed the *united* resistance of the Canaanite armies, it remains for the tribes to deal *individually* with the areas, including, of course, the walled cities, which are now allotted to them. What then of the picture which we find in the " old document of first importance " ? We find it stated that the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem (Judges i. 21) ; that Manasseh failed similarly at Bethshean, Taanach, Dor, Ibleam and Megiddo (i. 27) ; that Ephraim failed at Gezer (i. 29) ; that Zebulon failed at Kitron and Nahalol (i. 30) ; that Asher failed at Acco, Zidon, Ahlab, Achzib, Helbah, Aphik and Rehob (i. 31) ; that Naphtali failed at Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath (i. 33) ; and that Dan failed at Mount Heres, Aijalon and Shaalbim. Now why should these particular tribes be mentioned separately in connection with their failure to capture these particular towns ? Why, indeed, should their failures be mentioned at all ? Surely it

1 *Joshua, Judges*, 1931.

must be obvious that the only context into which such statements can rationally be fitted is *one which assumes the allotment of these areas to these tribes*. So far, in fact, from presenting a contrast to the preceding J E narrative, this precise schedule of the cities which resisted the individual tribes entirely confirms it, and the more ancient and important this document is held to be the more certain does it become that the "canonical" tradition is correct.[1]

(iv.) Finally we may notice certain evidence which has been claimed as proving a tradition of the Settlement from which a descent into Egypt and an exodus are excluded.[2]

(i). There is, first, a reference to a land of Goshen other than that which has been identified as the Wady Tumilat within the border of Egypt proper. This Goshen, we are told, was in the vicinity of the "River of Egypt" (the Wady el-Arish), about fifty miles south-west of Gaza "and may have been an eastern extension of Egypt": it is urged therefore that "traditions of an exodus from Egypt proper may well have been influenced by those of some movement into Palestine" from these regions. Now there are two occasions when this "land of Goshen" are mentioned, namely in Joshua x. 41 (Rd) when it is said that "*Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon*," and in *Joshua* xi. 16 (Rd): "*So Joshua took all that land, the hill country, and all the Negeb and all the land of Goshen, and the Shephelah and the Arabah and the hill country of Israel and the Shephelah of the same.*" In neither of these passages is it made clear where the land of Goshen lay, but as there was a town of this name in the territory of Judah (Joshua xv. 48) which is placed in association with Debir and immediately after Gaza, the most natural assumption is that this district lay somewhere along the western slopes of the mountains of Judah and stretched

1 The remaining arguments advanced by Burney are admitted to be "speculation of the vaguest kind" and need not detain us. The Habiru problem with which he deals in his last lecture is still not sufficiently advanced to throw any clear light upon the Settlement.

2 S. A. Cook. Camb. Anc. Hist. Vol. II. p. 358 f.

northwards towards Gibeon[1]. The references cited by Cook to the Egyptian origin of Hagar and the Gerar-Egypt[2] parallels in the stories of Abraham and Isaac (Genesis xii. ; xx. ; xxvi.) cannot therefore be legimately made to serve this argument.

(ii). " In the account of the entrance of Jacob-Israel..... there are traditions of an actual settlement ; and these in common with the tribal genealogies in 1 Chronicles ii. ff. ignore, and sometimes exclude, a descent into Egypt and an exodus (*ib.* vii. 20 ff.)"[3] These traditions include the story of Jacob's connection with, and conquest of, Shechem (Genesis xxxiii. 19 ; xxxvii. 12 ; xlviii. 22), the barbarous conduct of Simeon and Levi at this place (Genesis xxxiv. 30 ; *cf.* xlix. 5-7), Reuben's loss of the birthright through his incest (1 Chronicles v. 1), Judah's marriage with a Canaanite (Genesis xxxviii.) and also that of Simeon (Genesis xlvi. 10). These traditions, it is claimed, " allow no room for any account of a sojourn in Egypt and an exodus ; and they presuppose some considerable body of tradition which has disappeared in favour of the now prevailing outline." It is difficult to know what to make of this argument. In the first place, no one will deny that the Israelites possessed a tradition of a semi-nomadic settlement in Canaan in patriarchal times or that the stories referred to above relate to this period : but in what way any of them can be said to " allow no room " for a later exodus is not easily comprehensible. That they " ignore " it is, of course, no argument at all, since *ex hypothesi* it had not yet occurred. Moreover, it is at least pertinent to remember that the Blessing of Jacob, which is said to have been pronounced on his death-bed in Egypt, itself makes mention of the sins of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. But this is not all. Surely it is extremely odd, if the Shechem-conquest story relates to a settlement which had no connection with the Exodus and was not affected by Joshua's invasion, that it is not the tribes of Simeon and Levi which are found in historical times occupying these mountains but precisely those tribes (the house of Joseph) which we are asked to assume

1 So Cheyney. Enc. Bib. col. 1,762.
2 Cook, *op. cit.* p. 359.
3 Cook, *loc. cit.*

as the only genuine fugitives from Egypt! Surely, again, it may be asked, if Reuben's settlement in Canaan was made before the Exodus and the tribe never moved from its position to go down into Egypt, why in that case we find it occupying a region in Transjordania, although its ancient associations would seem to have been with the territory of Judah (Joshua xviii. 17). There seems, in fact, throughout the whole of this argument too great a readiness to trust the most trivial legends, culled sometimes, and sometimes supported, from late post-exilic sources, while the broad, coherent, and perfectly credible story of the "canonical" (JE) tradition is viewed with a suspicion as thorough-going and apparently not less arbitrary! To all this accumulation of inferences may still be opposed the single witness of the Song of Deborah; for it has yet to be explained how the loyalty of the scattered tribes to Jahweh could be taken for granted by the prophetess if they had not *before their respective settlements* experienced beyond the "Field of Edom" a common enthusiasm for the service of a national God.

We have now reviewed the arguments for and against the traditional view of the Settlement. Let us in taking leave of them note their most prominent characteristic, as revealed in the sixty pages of Burney's investigations. "The inference becomes plausible," "gains some support," "we seem to be on the brink," "if this inference be correct," "it is not improbable that," "we shall probably not be far wrong," "we may reasonably conjecture"; these are only a few expressions culled from these pages at random, and they can hardly fail to impress the reader with the extreme tenuity of the structure upon which the thesis is based. Such speculative methods are, of course, quite legitimate, provided that the "conjectures" of one page do not become the "facts" of another[1], but unless they are kept in check by solid facts they produce an atmosphere in which unrealities assume a wholly illusory substance; in a word, they end in mirage.

1 There is, alas, an example of this in the book in question, *cf.* p. 4 on the "suggested" artificiality of the 480 years reckoning with p. 91 which asserts this dogmatically as a fact.

(*To be continued*)

Rare and unpublished Jewish Coins

By A. Reifenberg (Jerusalem)

Maccabean.

Alexander Jannæus.

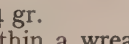
Æ 13 mm. 0·35 gr.

1. Obv. Anchor within a broad circle. Inscr. if any, illegible.
Rv. Wheel the spokes of which are replaced by pellets.
Plate I. No. 1.

Antigonus Mattathias.

Æ 17 mm. 1·34 gr.

2. Obv. Within a wreath, Inscr. (..מת)



Rv. The seven branched candelstick ; around, beginning on r. below and reading outwardly.

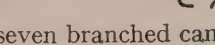


Plate I. No. 2

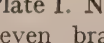
Coins giving the representation of the seven branched candlestick but showing another obverse have been published by Madden (Coins of the Jews, p. 102. No. 8 and 9) and Hill (B.M. Cat. Vol. Palestine, p. 219. No. 56). A similar coin, but with another inscription on the obverse has been published by Decloedt (Rev. Numismatique 1912, p. 467, No. 4). It should be pointed out that against Kohl and Watzinger (Antike Synagogen in Galilæa, Leipzig, 1916. p. 102) Jewish coins showing the seven branched candlestick actually exist.

The Herodian Dynasty.

Herod I.

Æ 19 mm. 5·46 gr.

3. Obv. Helmet to r., showing crest, one cheek piece and protection for the neck ; on l. date ; on r. monogram ; around beginning above inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ



Rv. Circular shield, adorned in centre with pattern of crescents in angles of a cross ; around that a wavy line. No inscription.
Plate I. No. 3

Similar coins but with another form of the helmet are extant. (Hill loc. cit. p. 221, 11-13). The monogram ⊕ has lately been explained by Narkis (Yedeoth Ha-Chevrah Ha-Ivrith L'Chaqirath Eretz Yisrael wa'Attiqotheha No. 4, Jerusalem 1934) as standing for "Trachonitis" of which Herod became a ruler in the third year of his reign.

Herod Agrippa I.

Æ 21 mm. 7·93 gr.

4. Obv. Head of Agrippa r., bare with diadem. Around inscription beginning left below:

ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑC ΑΓΡΙ·Π···

Rv. Female figure standing l., holding palmbranch in l., and resting r. on sword across field date. Inscription beginning above on r.

ΚΑΙCΑΡΙΑ ΗΠΡΟ ΤΩCΕΒΑCΤΩ ΛΙΜ
LH Plate I. No. 4

For similar coins *cf.* Harduinus: De nummis Herodiadum (Paris 1693), p. 15; Madden, loc. cit. p. 133, No. 2; Hill, loc. cit. p. 237, No. 20. However on none of these coins the date has been read. On a cast kindly given to me by Mr. Babelon of the Cabinet de Médailles at Paris (the specimen published by Madden) the date can faintly be traced. The date obviously refers to the eight (last) year of Agrippa's reign *i.e.* year 44.

The inscription on the obverse, too, is slightly different from the other specimens published. The female figure on the obverse is described by Harduinus, Madden and Hill as holding rudder and cornucopiæ. On our coin the female figure holds sword and palmbranch. The coin was struck at Cæsarea, where, as we know from Acts XII, 19 and Josephus, Antiq. XIX, 7 Agrippa went in 44 to celebrate games in honour of the Emperor Claudius. According to the account of Josephus and that given in the Acts, which substantially agree, Agrippa was saluted there as a god by the people, for which he did not rebuke it. He was "therefore immediately seized with internal pains and died soon after."

The coin was obviously struck to his honour. Sword and palmbranch are probably a reference to the games celebrated at Cæsarea.

Agrippa II.

Æ 23 mm. 9·97 gr.

5. Obv. Head of Domitian, laureate, wearing cuirass; around beginning above on r., inscription.

ΔOMET KAIC ΓEPMAN

Rv. Nike advancing r., holding wreath in r., palmbranch over shoulder in l., across field.

Plate I. No. 5

The date is hardly recognisable, if read correctly year 19 would correspond to A.D. 79.

Æ 28 mm. 11·27 gr.

6. Obv. Head of Domitian to right, laureated. Inscription beginning on left below

··· IVI VESPF DOMIT ··· AVGGEP COS X

Rv. Large square altar with ornaments on the compartments of the door. Inscription above nearly obliterated ··· A ···P In the field ET KE. In the field one side SALVTI and on the other AVGVST. Below SC.

Plate I. No. 6

Æ 26 mm. 13·85 gr.

7. Obv. Type as No. 6. Inscription beginning on left below

IM·CA·····OM AVG GEP COS XII

Rv. Type as No. 6. Inscription above EΠI BA AΓP. In the field ET K ʃ . In the field one side SALVTI and on the other side AVGVST. Inscription below obliterated.

Plate I. No. 7

A piece similar to No. 7 was first published by Harduinus (loc. cit. p. 19-20) and is now corroborated by us. A piece similar to No. 6 was first published by Sestini (Descriz. d. Med. Ant. Gr. del Mus. Hederv. t. III. p. 120, No. 10 and by Mionnet, (Supplement VIII, p. 380, No. 5), further references in Madden (Loc. cit. p. 157).

Madden doubts the reading of No. 6 given in Sestini and Mionnet, but supposes that the description of a similar piece

by de Saulcy (Num. de la Terre Sainte, p. 316) must be accepted as correct.

It may be pointed out that our piece (No. 6) differs from the pieces given by Sestini, Mionnet and de Saulcy in that the year 25 is equated not to the 12th consulship of Domitian but to the 10th. The reading COS X may however be due to the bad preservation of the coin (?). The date on both coins and the era to which it belongs is at length discussed by Madden (*loc. cit.* 160-165). Madden sees much probability in de Sauliy's argument that the coins of Agrippa II. with the dates ET KE and ET K ς and COSXII were struck at Neronias (Panias). The 12th consulship of Domitian equated year 86. The legend SALUTI AUGUST occurs as Madden remarks on the coins issued at Rome in the 10th and 11th consulship (A.D. 84 and 85) and on a very rare coin of the 12th consulship.

Æ 22 mm. 6·71 gr.

8. Obv. Head of Domitian, laureate r. inscription beginning on r. above

ΔOMITIANOC KAICAP

Rv. Nike, nude to waist, standing r., l. foot on helmet, writing on shield. Around beginning below on l. inscription

·ΤΚΘ ΒΑ ·ΓΡΙΠΠΑ

Plate II. No. 8

A similar coin has been published by Hill (*loc. cit.* p. 246, No. 54), but on our coin the shield is not supported by knee.

Æ 27 mm. 15·07 gr.

9. Obv. Head of Domitian, laureate to r. Inscription beginning above on r.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ··· ΡΜΑΝΙΚ

Rv. Tyche standing l., holding cornucopiæ in l., ears of barley in r., across field.

ЄΤΟ ΚΘ
ΑΓΡΙ

First Revolt.

Æ 18 mm. 2·28 gr.

10. Obv. Narrow necked amphora with fluted belly and curved handles, around beginning above on l. inscription.

שנת..ים)

Restruck on the obv. of a coin of Herod Agrippa I. (Hill, *loc. cit.* p. 236, No. 1), the letters ··· BACIΛ ··· still visible.

Rv. Cut vine-branch with one leaf and one tendril; around beginning on left, inscription (ח . . . . יון)

Restruck on the rv. of the a.m. coin. Two ears of barley are still distinctly visible.

Plate II. No. 9

This overstruck specimen proves that the amphora-vine-branch coins really belong to a time after A.D. 44, and most probably to the time of the First Revolt.

Æ 13 mm. 0·76 gr.

11. Obv. Narrow necked amphora. Around inscription שנ = year 3rd. WLI ··· ⅂W

Rv. Cut vine branch; no inscription.

Plate II. No. 10

Two similar coins, but without the letters ⅂W have been published by Hill (*loc. cit.* o. 275, No. 55 and 56).

Judæa Capta.

Æ 26 mm. 15·22 gr.

12. Obv. Head of Domitian r., laureate. Inscription beginning below on left.

··· MITIANVS CAESAR DIVIF ···

Rv. Nike advancing l., holding wreath in r. Inscription beginning above on right.

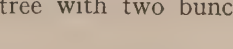
VICTORIA AVG

Plate II. No. 11

Second Revolt.

Æ 20 mm. 5·37 gr.

13. Obv. Bunch of grapes with one leaf; around inscription, beginning above on l.



Rv. Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field inscription

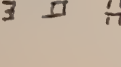


Plate II. No. 12

Two similar coins have been published by E. Rogers (*A Handy Guide to Jewish Coins*, p. 56). A coin of Eleazar with the date of the second year has been published by Lambert (Qu. of the Dept. of Antiq. in Palestine, Vol. I, p. 71). The existence of three Eleazar coins without date and one of the second year makes the assumption of their being accidental mules highly improbable.

Æ 22 mm. 5·68 gr.

14. Obv. A wreath made of bunches of three leaves each with medaillon at top and palmbranch in centre. Around beginning below on r. inscription

שמעון נש׳א ישׂראל

Rv. Lyre of four strings. Inscription beginning below on r.

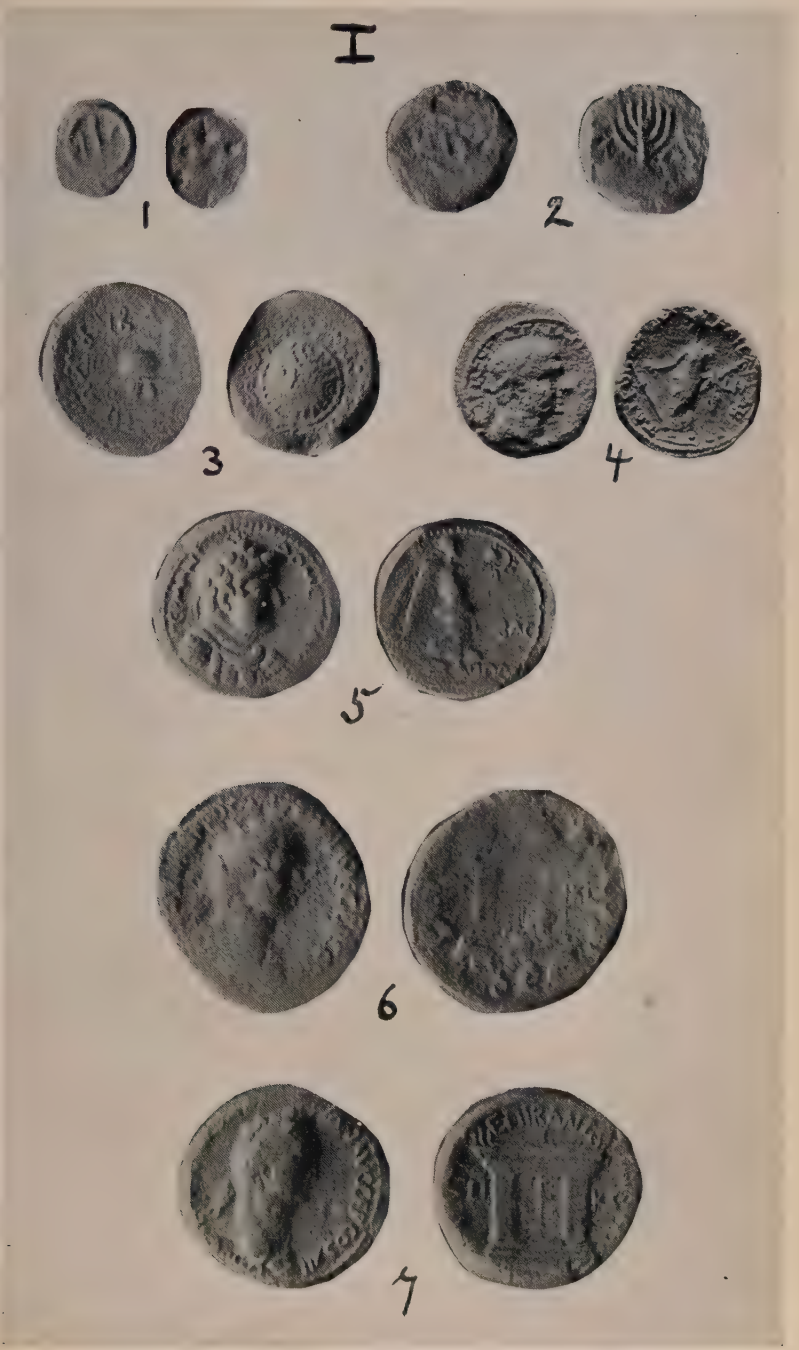
(*sic!*) שנ לחר נשא

Plate II. No. 13

A similar coin was published by Decloedt (Rev. Num. 1912, p. 470). Our coin confirms the reading of Decloedt which has been doubted by Hill (*loc. cit.* p. 106).

This coin and the one described above (No. 13) show that Schürers explanation of the changes of the names Simon and Eleazar occurring on these coins can no longer be accepted (*cf.* Hill, *loc. cit.* p. 106). There exist coins of Eleazar of the first year, of the second year and without date. The same is true with the coins of Simon Nasi. (*cf.* also Madden, *loc. cit.* p. 205, No. 10.)

Acknowledgement is due to the British Museum Catalogue for guidance in describing the types.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A Greek Epitaph from Jaffa

By Marcus N. Tod, M.A.

In 1903 H. Vincent published (*Rev. Bibl.* XII. 611 f.) an epitaph engraved on a rectangular marble slab found in the cemetery at Jaffa and acquired by Baron Ustinow. He gave the following text and translation of the inscription:

'Ιούστου γναφέ(ω)ς, [υἱοῦ] 'Ιακώ, Κυμινᾶ. Διὰ σαλω[μ].

Justos le foulon, fils de Jacob de Cymina(?). En paix !

He regarded 'Ιακώ as standing for 'Ιακώβ or for 'Ιακώβου, and in the genitive Κυμινᾶ he saw a local designation, citing the analogy of other epitaphs and the entry in Pape-Benseler (*Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen, I*), where Κυμινᾶς is mentioned as a place in the district of Ochyza in Syria. Σαλω, he thought, had, like 'Ιακω, lost its final consonant, and διὰ σαλω [μ] was an attempt to render the Greek formula ἐν εἰρήνῃ (בשלום)

The epitaph was republished by S. Klein (*Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, 48, No. 136) with a German translation and the addition of a note by G. Dalman, 'Κυμινα, viel. zu vergl. Cumanus, Einwohner von Cumae'. Finally, in a note entitled "Ιακὼ Κύμινα='Ιακὼβ Cumanus?", S. Brassloff mentions this conjecture of Dalman and adds (*Wiener Studien*, XLVIII 1930, 113): "But κυμινα is in my opinion a component part of the *pax*-formula and must be taken together with διὰ σάλωμ=ἐν εἰρήνῃ: κύμισις (κοίμησις) or κῶμα should be read or emended. The benediction ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ κοίμησις αὐτοῦ s so very frequent that examples need not be adduced."

I agree with Brassloff in rejecting Dalman's suggestion that κυμινα may be the genitive of an adjective derived from the Italian city of Cumae. This would appear as Κυμαίου, or, if

the Latin form were followed, Κυμάνου: the medial *iota* and the termination -â are alike inexplicable.[1] But Brassloff's own conjecture seems to me to be still more wide of the mark. The letters are clearly and carefully engraved, as the photograph which accompanies Vincent's publication shows: that κυμινα should represent κοίμησις is improbable, that it should represent κῶμα is, to my mind, inconceivable. The solution of the problem is a much simpler one. Justus' name[2] is followed by a word indicating his calling, that of a fuller: what more natural than that his father's name also should be followed by a similar word? True, κυμινᾶς, "cummin-seller," does not appear in our lexica, but κυμινοπώλης is found in two sixth-century papyri (*Maspéro Papyri*, 146. 2, 3, 5, 328. vii. 4), and B. Olsson has collected a considerable number of words from the colloquial language of the papyri in which the termination -âς (probably derived from the Latin *-arius*, which appears in the form -άριος in many Greek words) is used in preference to the longer -πώλης or -ποιός (*Aegyptus*, VI. 247 ff.): thus κλειδᾶς is found side by side with κλειδοποιός, κτενᾶς with κτενοποιός and κτενοπώλης, etc. Inscriptions also furnish numerous examples, notably the epitaphs of Corycus in Cilicia recently published by J. Keil and A. Wilhelm (*Mon. Asiæ Minoris Ant.* III. p. 235).

If this explanation is correct, we shall transcribe the Jaffa epitaph

Ἰούστου γναφέος, Ἰακὼ κυμινᾶ. Διὰ σάλω(μ).

It affords a further testimony to the cultivation in Palestine of cummin (כַּמּוֹן, κύμινον, *cyminum*), to which reference is made both in the Old and in the New Testament (*Isaiah* XXVIII. 25, 27; *S. Matthew* XXIII. 23). For its preparation and use in ancient and modern times, see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *s.v.* cumin.

1 I do not propose to bring into the question Cymine, a town of Thessaly (or rather of Dolopia: *cf.* Stählin, Pauly-Wissowa, XI. 2082), mentioned by Livy (XXXII. 13. 10) as captured by the Aetolians in 198 B.C.; the name seems to be a corruption of Ctimene.

2 I agree with the previous editors in regarding Jacob as the father of Justus: that the stone should mark the grave of two men seems to me less probable.

Further Note on The Tell-Duweir Inscription

By Father Eric Burrows, S.J.

With reference to Mr. Gaster's Supplementary Note on the Tell-Duweir Inscription, I submit the following considerations:

The disputed reading is

תלא ו תל[ומ ר]וש

So[r Mo]t and Elat.

Mr. Gaster objects (1) that it would have to be shown conclusively that the alphabet of Tell-Duweir (and of Serabit al Khadim) used ש for original *th*.

Perhaps the burden of proof should rest rather on whoever denies this. It would have to be shown either (*a*) that the alphabet of Tell-Duweir and Serabit had a special sign for original *th*, or (*b*) that original *th* would be represented therein by an extant letter other than ש (*e.g.* ת). But (*a*) it will hardly be claimed that there is any evidence of a special sign for etymological *th* in the alphabet with which we are concerned—not even at Serabit al Khadim. As to the special *th*- sign in the Ras Shamra alphabet, it seems to be a positive argument for the lack of a *th*- sign in the Serabit-Canaanite alphabet, for the Ras Shamra *th* is best explained as a modification of the Ras Shamra *š*, which (as Mr. Gaster will agree: *cf. Anc. Egypt* 1934, 34) was derived from the Serabit-Canaanite *š*.

(*b*) That ש would be used, rather than ת or any other letter, for etymological *th* in the early Canaanite alphabet is a fairly reasonable supposition if only because the earliest relevant Canaanite inscriptions so used ש (*e.g.* שלש in Mesha line 2 and Siloam, line 2). It may indeed be supposed (though I understand Mr. Gaster not to make the supposition) that in the thirteenth century the pronunciation was different, say *th*; but even so would any letter have seemed more appropriate than *šin* to represent this sound? *Cf.* the transcription of

etymological *th* in Canaanite words by *š* in the Amarna documents (*e.g. šahri*, Knudtzon, p. 1508 ; *aštarti*, p. 1572), and in Egyptian (Burchardt, *Die altkanaan. Fremdworte*, I. §107A) by the signs which also represent שׁ.

(2) Mr. Gaster's second point is that it is extremely precarious to regard Mot as a god worthy to be ranked with El and Elat. Probably he was merely a figure in the sacred pantomimes, like the Death in analogous European customs.

It seems to me that Mot was something more than that. *Cf.* his equivalences to Eshmun, Adonis and Dionysos in the later mythology (Dussaud, *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*, 1931, 407). In the early period Palestinian proper names seem already to secure him a place in the pantheon. There is no longer reason to doubt the most obvious interpretation of names like 'Az-Mot (*cf.* עזבעל, 'Az-Gad, etc., and the place 'Az-Mot or Bet-'Az-Mot, facing 'Anatot as if the contest between Mot and Anat had been located there ; and with *'az* in this connection may now be compared not only Cant. viii, 6 but also the triple refrain " Mot 'az, Ba'al 'az " in the Ras Shamra poem, *Syria* 1931, vi. 17-20, tr. Friedrich, *Der alte Orient* 33, p. 34). Ahi-Mot is also noteworthy, the Ahi-names being strictly theophorous.

My interpretation of the inscription, however, does not involve an estimate of the prestige of Mot in Canaanite religion. If he was the son of El and Elat (which will not, I think, be denied), it seems evident that his name *could* be included in a dedication to El and Elat.

This is not to say that I do not appreciate Mr. Gaster's point. It is quite true that offerings to Mot are not otherwise documented. In this respect it would be desirable to restore some other divine name in the lacuna. I had thought of ['N]T or [RB]T ; but that another goddess should have priority to Elat in this dedication is not very probable.

(3) Third objection: it would have to be proved that the medial waw would be written in words like שור and מות . . .

Is it not rather difficult to know what we ought antecedently to expect ? On the one hand in the contemporary Ras Shamra

script such vowels are not written; on the other they were written (as my critic is careful to state) in Hebrew,—notably in Mesha and Siloam (*cf.* *NSI* p. 6 and p. 16), two principal early examples of the script with which we are actually concerned.

(4) The obscure letter that I have identified with waw "has a far greater similarity with the various earlier forms of *gimel* exhibited by Dr. Eisler . . . JRAS, 1923, p. 51." I do not see it. The signs in question lack the bent line on the stem which is characteristic of our sign and, in a less pronounced form, of the earliest Phœnician waw (*cf.* the 1st., 4th., 6th. and 10th. words of Ahiram, line 2; squeezes by Ronzevalle, *Mélanges* XII. 1, 1927, Beyrouth). For the rest, can Eisler's fascinating speculations on the Cadmeian alphabet be used in the present discussion? Unfortunately I am not acquainted with an adequate proof that the cited signs do represent primitive *gimel*.

Naphath-Dor: A Hill Sanctuary?

By D. Winton Thomas

In two previous numbers of this Journal, I suggested that in the place-names En-dor and Hammoth-dor some reminiscence of ritual dancing which at one time took place in these localities is preserved.[1] It is possible that the place-name Naphath-dor may be explained along similar lines.

This name (נָפַת דּוֹר) occurs in Josh. XII, 23, I. Kings IV, 11, (נְפוֹת דֹּאר), and in Josh. XI. 2, where the plural form נְפוֹת דֹּאר occurs. In each case the R.V. renders by "the height(s) of Dor," while the A.V. translates variously: "the coast, region or borders of Dor." That the R.V. is correct in translating the first element in this place-name by "height(s)" is shown by a comparison with Arabic. The word נָפָה comes from נו·ף[2]

1 See *Quarterly Statement*, Oct. 1933, p. 205; July 1934, p. 147. In the former the philological argument for דוּר "to encircle (a sacred object)" is given.

2 Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebr. Eng. Lex.*, p. 632.

which is cognate with the Arabic نَشَفَ (*nāf*) "to overtop"[1]; نِيَف (*niyāf*) means *imminens pars montis*[2], and مُنِيف (*munīf*) is used of a mountain or building in the sense of "high, lofty."[3] Ben Yehuda[4] explains נָפָה in these passages by גבה, רמה, while the sense of height is seen again in the later Hebrew word נוֹף, which means "bough, treetop."[5]

We may therefore translate Naphath-dor by "height of encircling," the name indicating some hill sanctuary where ritual dancing was performed either round the altar or some other sacred object which we may suppose to have been erected there.[6] In this connection we recall the ritual dancing of the prophets of Baal who "leaped about the altar" on Mount Carmel—(I. Kings XVIII, 26.)[7]

The fact that in all three place-names compounded with דּוֹר (דְּאֹר)—En-dor, Hammoth-dor, Naphath-dor—the first element indicates an object which was commonly associated in ancient Israel with religious ceremonies, viz., a spring, a sacred enclosure (or perhaps hot springs[8]), and a height would seem to lend support to the suggestion that דּוֹר in these names indicates "ritual encircling" and to the belief that at these places the sacred dance formed an essential part of worship.

1 Freytag, *Arab. Eng. Lex.*, iv, 353.

2 *Ibid.*, 354.

3 Lane, *Arab. Eng. Lex.*, p. 3039; cf. Ps. xlviii, 3, where Mount Zion is described as יְפֵה נוֹף "beautiful in elevation."

4 *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis*, p. 3716.

5 Levy, *Neuhebr. u. chald. Worterb.*, iii, 362; M. Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targumim, etc.*, p. 889.

6 For the ritual dance round a sacred object, see W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, p. 88f.

7 The worship of these prophets was of course Phoenician, but we may justifiably see in it a reflection of Israelite usage. See Oesterley, *op. cit.* p. 113; cf. also Elijah's use of the word פסח in verse 21.

8 *Quarterly Statement, loc. cit.*

Hebrew Potsherds from Tell Duweir

JERUSALEM,
February 20, 1935.

FROM SIR CHARLES MARSTON.

I have just returned from a visit to the excavations being made at Tell Duweir (Lachish) by the Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition under the leadership of Mr. J. L. Starkey. Your readers will doubtless be already familiar with the discovery there at the end of January of potsherds with ink writing on them in Hebrew. These inscriptions must date before B.C. 588 when Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the city, now almost certainly identified with Lachish. The excavations are very extensive, as the Tell is one of the largest in Palestine. It lies about 25 miles South West of Hebron, and is reached by roads which are very rough, and which are dangerous after rain, in about two and a half hours. I visited the spot where the potsherds were found, and inspected the eleven which had been removed to the Expedition's Museum. The find was made in the ruins of the Eastern Tower of the Persian gateway, among the debris of a room which lay under the Persian work. The potsherds are thought to have been used to level the face of the side walls of a room before it was plastered, and they lay in the burnt debris left after Nebuchadnezzar's soldiers had eaten their way by fire, first through the defences, and then through the city.

Some of the sherds are from vessels of red pottery, and others from buff coloured ones. But they are all remains of jars of similar shape. The inscriptions are of a literary character,

and seem in some cases to be complete. The writing is in a bold cursive hand, and on some of the sherds it is as clear as the day it was made. An illustration of Sherd No. 1 is sent with this letter.

The Jerusalem Hebrew scholars have deciphered upon it the names of :

Gemariah : Hagab : Mataniah : Neriah : Jaazaniah and Jeremiah.

The inscriptions are at present thought to be copies of letters, whose originals were probably written on papyrus leaves. From the fact that the Divine Name—Jahve (Jehovah) is used in the letters, it would seem as though the correspondence was between Jewish officials of the period.

The work of decipherment is now in the hands of the professors of the Hebrew University here.

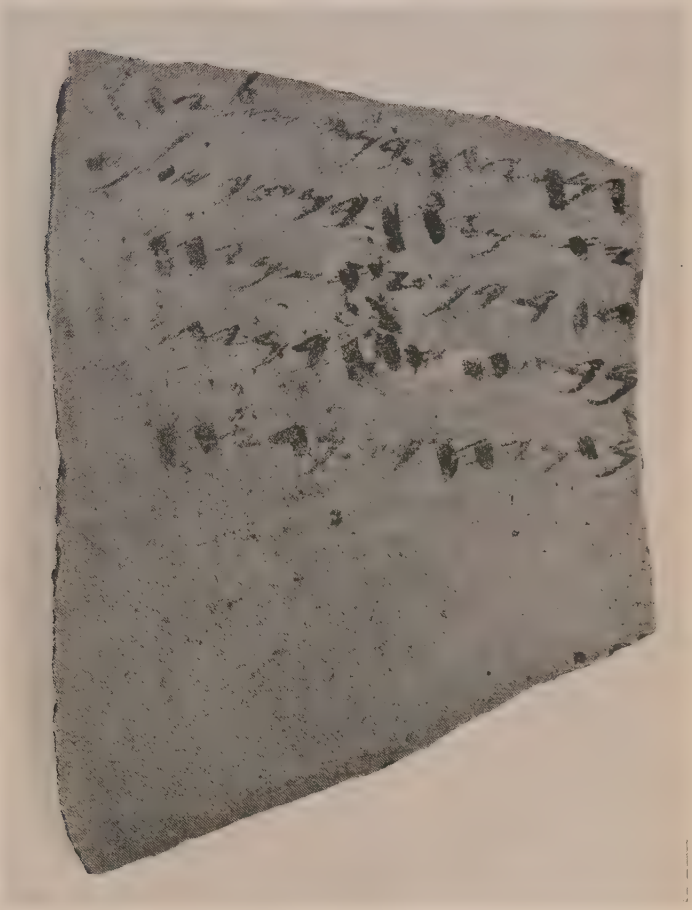
Some of the phrases in the letters recall ones familiar to Bible readers. In two instances the writer in addressing his lord, likens himself to a dog. The letters appear to indicate that a time of great tension existed when they were written.

It is premature to suggest the precise effect that this find will have on old Testament scholarship ; we must wait for the decipherment of the writing.

But it already seems quite evident that further important evidence has been found that will tend to confirm the Old Testament—in the present case, of course, the book of Jeremiah, and the history of his time. The names of Gemariah, Jeremiah and the others are quite familiar to us as associated with each other. One wonders whether the letters were written in the troubled times described in the last two chapters of the second book of the Kings.

I returned from Tell-Duweir feeling that the Expedition has as yet only touched the fringe of the records of the past that are buried in its ruins ; and those who have visited the excavations must agree, that the youthful band of leaders under the command of Mr. J. L. Starkey, are eminently qualified for the work of those discoveries of far-reaching importance which lie before them.

CHARLES MARSTON.



TELL DUWEIR. HEBREW POTSHERD.

The Topography of Some New Testament Sites

(Report of a Lecture by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman given at the Rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund, January 30th.)

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Hon. Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund in giving one of the monthly lectures at the Headquarters of the Fund, 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., took as his subject 'The Topography of Some New Testament sites.' He first mentioned the various data whereby attempts at identification of Bible sites had been made. The chief points are (1) similarity of name, (2) historical and traditional accounts of position, and (3) archæological evidence. Of these three the third was most important as checking (1) and (2).

While the Old Testament contains the names of 500-600 towns in Western Palestine, there are only some twenty-five in the New Testament. Of these latter the majority are not in dispute. There are, however, five sites which have been the subject of lively discussion and regarding which there is still no complete agreement. These are Emmaus, Cana, Capernaum, Bethsaida and Chorazin. Of these the first three are the more important.

The question of the site of *Emmaus* is most exhaustively dealt with by the learned American scholar, Dr. Robinson, in his well known *Biblical Researches*, more than eighty years ago. His views are identical with those given by Père Abel in the recently published volume *Emmaus*. Emmaus is mentioned in Luke xxiv. 13 as the place visited by the two disciples after the Crucifixion. There is an Emmaus mentioned by Josephus (B.J. vii. vi. 6) where Cæsar settled 800 ex-soldiers: he is reported to say that it was "three score furlongs" from Jerusalem. Lastly, there was an Emmaus, afterwards called Nicopolis some 22 miles, or some 160 furlongs, from Jerusalem and 10 miles from Lydda. This place was well known as the site of important historical events; here Judas Maccabæus

defeated the Syrian general, Georgias (1 Macc. iii. 40, 57). Later the Syrian Baccides refortified it. Still later it was burned by order of Varus after the death of Herod the Great. Thus during the time of the mention of Emmaus in St. Luke it must have been an unfortified settlement.

Now this place is without doubt the present village of *Amwas* on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. Further it is certainly identified by Jerome and Eusebius as the Emmaus of the Gospel. In the third century it was rebuilt, became once more a city, received the name Nicopolis and coins were issued in its name.

That this *Amwas* was the site of Emmaus was the opinion of the Church down to the fourteenth century—no other site was ever suggested. The ruins of successive churches, recently excavated, testify to the sanctity of the spot.

Despite this long tradition for some unexplained reason *Kubeibeh* was after this pitched upon as the site of Emmaus and the Franciscans' fine church there was consecrated with pomp and ceremony some years ago by a Cardinal from Rome. The site is so charming that were sentiment the only guide a visitor might well wish that the tradition were reliable. Other places have been suggested, all because of the statement which occurs in many MSS. of the New Testament that Emmaus was "three score furlongs from Jerusalem." For this reason there has been a search for Emmaus within a circle of 60 furlongs from Jerusalem. De Witte and Meyer suggested a site to the north of Jerusalem, Colonel Conder suggested (without much conviction) a site called *Khamasu*, 8 miles south-west on the road to Beit-Jebrin; Canon Williams and others suggested Kuloniek, and Mrs. Finn in a long and able paper in the *Quarterly Statement*, advocated Artas, near Solomon's Pool. But all these proposals are unconvincing. There is much more in favour of the identity of Amwas and Emmaus.

1. The distance which appears in our A.V. as 60 stadia is given in a group of very ancient MSS., including the Codex Sinaiticus, as 160 stadia.

2. The condition of Emmaus at that time is correctly described in St. Luke as a village and not as a city, as it was at periods both before and after this time.

3. The earlier ecclesiastical authorities accepted the identification without dispute.

4. The possibility that the disciples could have walked 40 miles within 12 hours is not so great as it appears. Doubtless, they had not intended to return so soon but, full of the experiences they had just had and burning with a desire to narrate them to their discouraged brethren, they would forget everything in their hurried return. Père Abel says, " no one who is acquainted with the country and the habits of the people will find any difficulty." The change of 160 furlongs to 60 stadia may have occurred as a copyist's error, though MS. written out of Palestine retained the shorter distance and the Christian copyists of Josephus made the figures in those MS. harmonise with the Gospel MSS.

Cana of Galilee, the scene of the marriage feast (St. John ii. 1, 11) the place of the healing of the nobleman's son (iv. 46-54) and the home of Nathaniel has for long been wrongly identified.

It was described as " of Galilee " to distinguish it from the Cana (now Kanah) of Joshua xix. 20, some 7 miles south-east of Tyre.

Cana of Galilee has been identified in most guide books, etc., as at Kefr Kenna, a small village on the carriage road from Nazareth and Tiberias. There are great objections to this.

1. Kenna, spelt with a soft *k* and with a doubled *n* cannot be really equivalent to Kana. Three Canas are known today—a small fountain Ain Kana near Nazareth, Kanah the large village near Tyre mentioned above and a ruined site called Khurbet Kana.

Now this last is without doubt a Cana of Galilee of Bible times. Josephus mentions (B.J. I. xvii 5, 3) that Herod the Great had his headquarters at a village called Cana ; in his Life (*Vita* 17) he says " Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee which is called Cana." And in another passage (*Vita* 41) he states that he lived in the great plain, the name of which

was Asochis (now known as *el Battauf*). It is also mentioned as giving a name to an important highway from the Lake into Galilee.

Cana was therefore no unknown place. As regards ecclesiastical tradition, all the early writers apparently refer to this site rather than to Kefr Kenna. To quote but two. Saewulf who visited Palestine in 1102-3, writes : " From Nazareth Chana of Galilee.....is distant about 6 miles to the north situated on a hill.....Between Nazareth and Chana of Galilee about half way is a village called Roma " (now Khurbet Ruma) " where all pilgrims going from Accaron (Acre) to Tiberias are entertained, having Nazareth on the right and Galilee on the left."

The German monk, Burchard, (about 1280) writes : " Starting from Acre to the S.E., 4 leagues from Acre one comes to Cana of Galilee.....To the North Cana of Galilee has a tall mountain on whose slope it stands. At its foot on the south side it has a very fair plain, which Josephus calls Carmelion, it reaches as far as Sephora exceeding fertile and pleasant. About two leagues to the south of Cana of Galilee on the road from Sephora to Tiberias is a village named Ruma.....This village stands beneath the mountain which comes from Nazareth and bounds the aforesaid valley of Carmelion on the south side." This is very explicit.

It would seem that down to a period when there was a prolonged interruption in Christian pilgrimages, due to Moslem opposition, Cana was placed where Khurbet Kana now is. But after that, about 1620, the monk Quarismius, set out to re-establish the Holy sites, and among other mistakes put Cana at the more accessible site on the pilgrim route from Nazareth to the Lake, at Kefr Kenna.

As regards the existing remains. The site is a rounded hill isolated on all sides, though connected by a low neck of land with the mountains to the North. The hill top is pierced in all directions by ruined cisterns and there are extensive wall foundations. The whole surface is covered with small fragments of Roman pottery.

There is an ancient highway from Akka, past Jephat (ancient Jotapata) past Kana, along the northern edge of the Battauf,

though the place known as *Umm el 'Amed*, where there are remains of the ancient synagogue, through Hattin and Irbid (the ancient Arbela) down the Wady Hamam to Capernaum. It is a road throughout preeminently Jewish as contrasted with the Roman highway passing through the capital Sepphoris, from the coast to Tiberias.

The present hindrances to the recognition of the site are (1) the high road from Nazareth to Tiberias passes through Kefr Kenna where two churches stand witness to the miracle, and (2) the path from Nazareth through Ruma to Kana crosses the Battauf which frequently in the spring becomes water-logged. Dr. Thompson of the *Land and the Book* thus describes his way to Kana : " For two miles the horses waded through mud and water to the knees, along an invisible path less than two feet wide.....But if the careless or jaded animal slipped on one side or the other it sank into a quivering quagmire."

Capernaum was the Galilean home of Jesus (Matthew ix. 1). Matthew calls it a city and here taxes were taken on the Via Maris ; possibly there was a garrison here, we read of a centurion. Josephus in his Life (*Vita* 72) narrates that he was fighting at Julias (east of the Jordan—see below) and had the misfortune to fall into a quagmire and bruised his wrist. He " was carried into a village called Capharnome whence he was next day removed by boat to Tarichaea." Josephus also mentions the spring of Caphernaum whose waters watered Gennesaret. Scholars still disagree about the site of this city, but are more and more, I think, coming to recognise the claims of what is popularly called Tell Hum. The name is probably Telhum (one word) and has nothing to do with Tell—a hill. The remains are on level ground. Telhum is probably derived from Tankhum. A Kefer Tankhum stood hereabouts according to Rabbinical writings and at this spot was shown the tomb of Nahan. Other Rabbinical writers mention Kaphir Nakhum. So there seems to be some sort of connection between Telhum, Tankhum, Nakhum, Kaphir Nakhum and Capernaum.

The ecclesiastical traditions of the earlier pilgrim-centuries also, it would seem, point to Tell Hum. Robinson quotes

passages to maintain his theory that the site of Capernaum was Khan Minyeh which, as I read them, prove the exact opposite. Much depends on the actual area known as Gennesaret, on the situation of the " place of the benediction " and the identification of the " fountain of Caphernaum " (which, I believe, is " Birket Sheikh Ali ed Dather "). The first pilgrim to place Capernaum at Khurbet Minia is Quarismius in 1620 and his selection of " holy sites " is not founded on fact but fancy.

When we come to the archæological evidence we are on strong grounds. Firstly, we have at Tell Hum the largest mass of Roman remains anywhere along the north shore of the lake. Among these are the remains of an outstanding synagogue of early Christian era: this is built not of the black local volcanic rocks, but of a hard limestone brought there for that purpose. It is by far the most important local ruin as Capernaum was at the time the most important town in the district.

As regards the ruins at *Khurbet Mineyeh*, they are certainly remains of the Arab town Munja which once stood here, with no evidence of any earlier occupation; on the other hand the indications and the remains on El 'Oreimeh (a hill just above Khan Minieh) examination of the pottery shows no evidence of occupation during Roman times.

The identification of Tell Hum as the site of Capernaum will probably before long be unreservedly accepted.

There are two more sites on the north shore about which there has been, I think, unnecessary controversy.

Chorazin cannot but be represented by *Khurbet Kherazeh*—a mass of shapeless ruins on the edge of a steep wady running south and reaching the lake a little to the east of Capernaum. It is a fine site, more salubrious than the lake shore and the ruins cover a larger area than Tell Hum. Among them are those of a synagogue which has been excavated and is proved to have been a fine building—though built of local volcanic rock—in two stories. In it was found a stone slab bearing a Hebrew inscription giving the name of a benefactor who either enlarged or restored the synagogue. There are indications of a Talmudic School.

Had not Robinson, without visiting the site, condemned the ruins as " too trivial as ever to have belonged to a place of importance," and then located Chorazin at Tell Hum, there would never have been any doubt about this site.

With regard to Bethsaida, it is not disputed that the Bethsaida which was renamed by Herod Philip *Julius*, in honour of Cæsar's daughter, was at the ruined round hill of *et Tell*. It is also indisputable that this site, though just east of the Jordan was considered during the Apostolic age as in Galilee. Some, however, would suppose that there was another Bethsaida on the shore of the lake and would locate it at Tabighah. It seems to me that this is both improbable and unnecessary. The only passage that can support such a view is Mark vi. 45, but this is easily explained without such a theory which derives no support from history or archæology.

Book Review

The Heritage of Solomon : An Historical Introduction to the Sociology of Ancient Palestine. By JOHN GARSTANG. Being Volume III. of Descriptive Sociology. Published for Herbert Spencer's Trustees by Williams and Norgate. 1934, xv. 439 pp. 20*s*.

PROFESSOR GARSTANG'S previous volume : *The Foundations of Bible History, Joshua, Judges,* attracted a great deal of attention among Bible students by its fresh treatment of some of the most difficult problems of early Hebrew history. It possessed the special merit of being written, not by an arm-chair critic, but by a scholar who is also an archæologist and practical excavator of the greatest distinction with many years of field experience. In the volume under review Professor Garstang has brought together with the same freshness of treatment a great body of valuable material, and has set forth with remarkable skill a picture of the social and political development of the Hebrews from their entry into Canaan up to the time of Solomon.

The book begins with an introductory chapter which divides the period under discussion into its four main epochs, describes the biblical and extra-biblical sources, gives a valuable analysis of the text and explains the geographical factor in the history. The author goes on to deal with the land and its peoples, the social environment, and the political organisation of Canaan before the Israelite settlement. The origins of Israel are then described, and the difficult problem of the origin of Jahwism and the rise of the theocracy in Israel, is treated in a most illuminating manner. In chapter VI we find a valuable comparison of Hebrew legislation with the many contemporary legal codes. Here the author utilises with great skill the large body of new material now available relating to the laws of the Hittites, the various Mesopotamian legal codes, and other

sources of comparison. This chapter will be found of special value to the Old Testament student. Then follows an important chapter on the non-Semitic societies in Canaan, the Hittites, Achæans and Philistines. The last three chapters deal with the Hebrew Settlement, the tribal organisation, the growth of national consciousness and the organisation of the nation under the united monarchy. In addition to an index of biblical references, and a subject index, the volume contains as an appendix, a valuable classified index to the sociological materials in the early books of the Old Testament, with a key to its use. There are also four very useful maps and five illustrations.

Every page of the book bears witness to the author's first-hand knowledge, both of the sources and of the field. It is not too much to say, that there is no other book which covers the same ground and places at the disposal of the student, such a wealth of illustrative material for the most difficult and disputed period of Hebrew history.

It is only to be expected that in a period of ancient history bristling with difficult problems, some of the positions adopted by the author should not find general acceptance. For example, while Professor Garstang's view of the Israelite Settlement is accepted by many scholars today, a view with which the present writer is in full agreement, the article by Canon Phythian-Adams in the present issue, entitled *Mirage in the Desert*, puts forward arguments which cannot be lightly brushed aside for a very different point of view. Again, Professor Garstang restates the argument for the Bedouin element in Hebrew social organisation in a very impressive way, out of his abundant first-hand knowledge of modern Bedouin life and customs, with the result that the early Canaanite influence on Hebrew religion appears somewhat minimised. This is not to say that Professor Garstang does not amply recognise the presence of Canaanite elements in early Hebrew religion, especially in the north (*cf.* pp. 279f.), but the present writer is inclined to doubt whether the Bedouin element is quite so preponderant in Hebrew religion and social organisation as is commonly assumed to be the case.

Professor Garstang's treatment of the development of the later tribal names is particularly valuable. It agrees in the main with Noth's results in his monograph on the subject :— *Das System der zwälf Stömme Israels.*

The synchronism of Abraham with Hammurabi is retained, against Speiser's view in his *Ethnic Movements in the Second Millennium B.C.*

All serious students of the Old Testament and of the archæology of Palestine have reason to be deeply thankful to Professor Garstang for this most valuable and interesting book.

S. H. H.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Office and Rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund will be closed from Friday, August 9th, re-opening Monday, September 9th. Urgent correspondence, addressed to the Office, will be attended to by the Hon. Secretary.

The Seventieth Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held at 2, Hinde Street on June 27th. The Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich presided and gave an address. Mr. Colin Baly, of the Colt Expedition (under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem) gave a very interesting and well illustrated account of the excavations recently made at Esbeita, in the Negeb, and Professor Torczyner gave a brief account, illustrated with lantern slides, of the inscribed potsherds found at Tell ed Duweir.

A full report of the meeting will appear in the October Quarterly Statement.

We gratefully record that the Fund has received a legacy of five hundred pounds bequeathed by the late Mr. Cecil White, of Edinburgh, who was a Life Member.

The bulk of this handsome legacy will be applied to the reduction of the debt incurred two years ago in the cost of improving the Fund's Hinde Street premises. The debt being thus reduced to four hundred pounds.

It is proposed to commemorate Mr. White's munificence by purchasing with a part of the legacy a number of much needed

books for the library. These volumes will have a special book plate and will comprise the Cecil White Collection.

The Committee has accepted, with grateful thanks, the gift by Mr. James Clark, R.I. of forty-one oil and water colour and two line sketches which he made in Palestine during the years 1886, 1887, 1896 and 1897, the subjects being chosen as illustrations for Biblical backgrounds.

These pictures were on view, and much admired, on the occasion of the Annual Meeting on June 27th. They will remain hung in the rooms of the Fund until July 31st.

Mr. J. L. Starkey has returned from Tell Duweir, bringing his sheaves with him. The inscribed potsherds are the most important results of this season's work, and will occupy the attention of scholars for some time to come. Professor Torczyner, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who has been entrusted with the task of editing the inscriptions, has arrived in London and will be lecturing on the new material on July 9. The inscriptions undoubtedly throw fresh light upon details of the unhappy situation in Judah about the time of the first campaign of Nebuchadnezzar there in 597 B.C. They will confirm the contemporary accounts of Jeremiah, although no serious doubts have been cast upon the reliability of that portion of Old Testament history.

But the potsherds are not the only important inscriptional material found during this season's campaign at Tell Duweir. A small bowl has been found on which there is a short inscription in white paint in the same script as the now famous inscription on the Tell Duweir Ewer. It adds two fresh letters to those already furnished by the ewer.

The annual exhibition of the very interesting results of this season's work at Tell Duweir will be held at the Wellcome Research Institution, 183-193 Euston Road, N.W.1, from June 24—July 27 daily, 11—5, and on the evenings of June 28,

July 4, 10, 16, and 22, till 8 p.m. It is also hoped to show a short cinematograph film of the excavations daily during the exhibition.

The Egypt Exploration Society's Annual Exhibition of the results of the season's work in Egypt will be held in the rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund at 2, Hinde Street from about mid-September to mid-October. The precise date will be published by the Society in due course.

The attention of students may be called to the first instalment of Père Vincent's searching review of the report of the excavations at Teleilat Ghassul in the January issue of the *Revue Biblique*. In the same connection it may also be remarked that Professor Albright, in the latest issue of the *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research, points out that recent findings lead to the conclusion that Teleilat Ghassul was abandoned at least a millennium and a half before the date set by Père Mallon.

Professor Albright promises to deal with the subject of the Israelite conquest of Canaan at some length in the forthcoming issue of the *Bulletin*. Meanwhile, in the current issue, he summarises his present position as follows : " The study of Garstang's latest report on the excavation of Jericho and conversation with its author have convinced us that the date of the fall of Canaanite Jericho cannot be placed too low. While Garstang's own date seems too high, it is just as clear that Vincent's date in the second half of the thirteenth century is considerably lower than the evidence justifies. The most reasonable date, on the basis of the archæological evidence alone, is in the second half of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, the latest results of Starkey's excavation at Lachish indicate that the destruction of the latest Canaanite occupation-level there, cannot be placed before about 1250 or a little later (date of the destruction of the third Canaanite temple). Since

the pottery of the latest phase of this Canaanite temple is unmistakably later than the latest pottery of Canaanite Bethel (itself later than the ware found in Garstang's Middle Palace of Jericho, dating from the fifteenth-fourteenth century B.C.), the date of the fall of Bethel may be tentatively placed in the first half of the thirteenth century. In any case, we can say pretty definitely that the Conquest began after the Amarna Age, but probably before the revival of Egyptian power under Sethos I (*circa* 1317 B.C.). The Shephelah of Judah was conquered (at least in large part) in the second half of the thirteenth century B.C."

In his extremely interesting report on the excavations at Arpachiyah, reviewed in a later section of this issue, Mr. Mallowan makes a very significant remark : " Only four metal objects were discovered at Arpachiyah ; but their discovery was of paramount importance, as they prove that the material remains all belong to the Chalcolithic period. It is, indeed, a fact that nowhere in Babylonia, Assyria or Iran has there been discovered a site which may correctly be described as Neolithic ; even at prehistoric Persepolis, which Herzfeld labels Neolithic, copper objects have been found." The contrast with the situation in Palestine is interesting.

Students of funerary ritual will find new material of considerable interest in this connection in Mr. Mallowan's report. It concerns the problem of the significance of fractional burials, their distribution, and their connection with cremation. There is an important new feature of this type of burial—the persistent practice of orienting the body in spite of the fact that parts are missing, though there are actually three or four exceptions to this rule. In the same connection may be mentioned the discovery of several heads of infants buried in jars at Teleilat Ghassul. One of these, according to the discoverer, presented the appearance of having been violently severed from the body, strongly suggesting sacrificial ritual.

A new find of tablets is announced by the French expedition working at Tell Hariri, the site identified some years ago by Professor Albright as that of the ancient Mari, a city of considerable importance in the early history of Mesopotamia. The first year's campaign, under the direction of M. André Parrot, resulted in the discovery of a temple of Ishtar closely resembling the temple of Ishtar at Asshur discovered by Andrae, and belonging to the end of the fourth millennium B.C. The identification of the site was made certain by the discovery in the temple of a votive statue bearing the inscription of Lamgi-Mari, the king of Mari. Other interesting statues were discovered in the same temple, whose inscriptions shewed a script belonging to the earliest stage of cuneiform. In his second campaign M. Parrot discovered on the same site a palace of about the time of Hammurabi, in the rooms of which more than 1600 tablets were found in a good state of preservation. This discovery rivals in importance the discoveries at Ras Shamra, and the decipherment of the tablets will be awaited with the greatest interest.

The publication of the Ras Shamra texts is rapidly proceeding. M. Virolleaud has published the contents of two more tablets. The first, entitled *The Death of Baal.* apparently gives us the events which immediately precede the contents of the first tablet to be published, *The Death of Aleyan-Baal.* The second is entitled *The Revolt of Kosher against Baal,* and according to the translator, represents a conflict between the Canaanites, personified by Baal, and strangers from beyond the sea, represented by the god Kosher, a god who in an earlier tablet was designated as " the Son of the Sea." The triumph of Baal over Kosher has features which recall the triumph of Marduk over Tiamat. There is much new matter for study here.

Attention is drawn to the advertisement of C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence's *The Wilderness of Zin* which appears inside the front cover of this number.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Antiquaries Journal, XV, 2. Review of Rostovtzeff. The Excavations at Dura-Europos.

The Expository Times, April-June, 1935. Recent Biblical Archæology (May), by J. W. Jack.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXIV. The Indo-Iranian Borderlands: their Prehistory in the Light of Geography and of Recent Explorations, by Sir Aurel Stein.

The Lecture Recorder, April, 1935.

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, lxiv. 3.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 51, 2.

The Near East and India, April-June, 1935.

New Judea, April-June, 1935.

The American Journal of Philology, lvi, 2.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 57-8. The Propylaea Church at Jerash, by J. W. Crowfoot. Report from Mr. Bache on the Tepe Gawra Excavation. Observations on the Bethel Report, by W. F. Albright. Two Great Discoveries bearing on the Old and New Testaments, by W. F. Albright. Archæology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine, by W. F. Albright.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, xxx, 5.

The Geographical Review, April, 1935.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, xxv, 4. In commemoration of the 800th Anniversary of the Birth of Maimonides.

The Journal of the American Oriental Society, 55, I. The Second Liturgical Poem from Ras Shamra, by G. A. Barton. Ras Shamra, Notes III, by J. A. Montgomery.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1934, 2.

Journal Asiatique, ccxxv, 2.

Syria, xvi, I. Les Fouilles de Mari, by A. Parrot. La Révolte de Košer contre Baal. Poème de Ras Shamra (III AB, A), by C. Virolleaud.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, April-June, 1935. Reviews of E. A. W. Budge : From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt, by H. Bonnet. A. Moortgat : Bildwerk und Volkstum Vorderasiens zur Hethiterzeit (April), by H. H. Schaeder ; Die bildende Kunst des Alten Oriente und die Bergvölker, by U. Hölscher (June). Das Volk der Karka in den Achämenideninschriften, by W. Eilers (April). Review of A. Alt. : Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts, by J. Hempel. O. Eissfeldt : Einleitung in das Alte Testament, by L. Dürr.

Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, xii. I.

Associazione Inter. Studi Mediterranei, Bolletino v, 6.

Biblica, 16, 2. Der heutige Stand der Pentateuchfrage, by A. Bea.

Al Mashrik, xxxiii, I.

Bible Lands, April, 1935.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, Jan.-Feb., 1935.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, IV, 4.

Arabo e Berbero, by G. M. Barbera.

Prehistoric Assyria : The Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933, by M. E. L. Mallowan and J. Cruikshank Rose. Humphrey Milford. Review in this issue.

Map of Trans-Jordan, Department of Lands, 1:50,000 series, sheets : 2.A. Deir Abu Said (reprint) ; 3.A. Jerash ; 4.A. Salt.

Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture and Forests (Government of Palestine) for the year ending March, 1934. By Mr. M. T. Dawe, O.B.E., F.L.S., Director of Agriculture and Forests.

Religion : The Journal of Transactions of the Society for Promoting the Study of Religions. No. 12, June, 1935.

Government of Palestine, Dept. of Agriculture and Forests. Weather Reports.

T. E. Lawrence

Personal Reminiscences
By Colonel S. F. Newcombe

In December, 1913, five small survey parties started to extend the Palestine surveys of Conder and Kitchener from Gaza and Beersheba southwards and to complete these maps down to Akaba.

The P.E.F. took the opportunity to send two archæologists to work in cooperation with the surveyors: to study historical and archæological remains in the desert, particularly with regard to the Old Testament.

On January 10, 1914, I rode northwards to Beersheba from my Survey camp, to meet the two eminent scientists, who had left their studies of Hittite remains at Carchemish. I found two young and very bright people in the persons of E. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence.

My letters to them arranging for their reception had clearly been too polite: an error easily and quickly remedied. Undue deference ceased forthwith. I soon found that my rather primitive ways of living and ideas of comfort were not too far below their standards, and questions of transport, food, etc., were quickly settled.

We moved early the next day to my camp, some 15 miles south. When surveying alone in the desert, work began before sunrise: one returned to camp after sunset, and then calculated and plotted the map by candlelight in the tent.

But with Woolley and Lawrence sharing my tent, I used to return from field work earlier and listen to either or both of them on the ancient history of these areas till midnight.

There we were in the desert, with Beduin, living much as the Israelites did, wearing similar clothes, the same primitive customs and ideas and with the same animals for food and transport. I had several books on the subject of the Wanderings, but nearly all were written by idealistic but very inexperienced

visitors (excepting Palmer and the French Fathers). Most of these books had entirely missed the truth from lack of knowledge of the country or understanding of the Beduin mind. Each seemed to exaggerate grossly his own little theory at the expense of any one else's. To discuss on the spot with two very alert people, weigh the different theories of the forty years' Wanderings and to learn a good deal of ancient history with the correct local colour, gave a mental balance to the ultra physical life of a surveyor.

As Lawrence states in their book, *The Wilderness of Zin*, the main objects of their visit were four : to get some historical idea of the country in successive periods ; to trace the Darb el Shur, the old inland route of caravans from Central Palestine to Egypt ; to identify sites mentioned in the Bible and other historical writings and to study the neighbourhood of Ain Kadeis, supposed to be the Kadesh Barnea of the wanderings.

The very successful results of their work, he describes in that book. Historians can best estimate the value of their six weeks' travel in that area and of the time spent later in writing the book ; but as a layman, their deductions cleared up for me much misleading speculation based on the very meagre local knowledge of theorists : and they laid the foundation for serious study and knowledge in that area.

During their four or five days' camping with me, they visited some Byzantine and monastic ruins in that area, Khalasa, Raheiba, etc., and then they went westward towards Kossaima. It amused me to find that Lawrence at that time hated riding horses and had no love for a camel, preferring to walk. I thought then that the time factor would decide his method of locomotion. They both tried walking on one occasion with no guide, lost their camels, but found their way to Ain Kadeis.

Some three or four weeks later, Lawrence joined me near Akaba, whilst Woolley visited and studied Abdeh, Kurnub, and other places in the mid desert.

I had just been visiting the Turkish governor of Akaba who had politely stated that he had conclusive instructions from

Constantinople to forbid my surveying in his District: though I showed him that the governor of Beersheba not only allowed me but assisted me in the Beersheba district.

Lawrence was all for ignoring the Turkish governor and was quite surprised and even hurt that I curtailed my mapping; but the next day a Sinai policeman came in great haste asking me to visit the nearest telephone some 20 miles off, where I received an urgent message from Kitchener ordering me on no account to survey or map in places unauthorised by the Turks.

Lawrence spent a day or two searching for remains near Akaba and found some fragments of pottery, but on the whole was disappointed: he got some fun by spiting the governor who had refused him the use of any boats to get to Faraun Island. He borrowed two of my 10 gallon water tanks, and swam on or with these the half mile to Faraun Island. The next day he was escorted by a Turkish police officer out of the district, but he and his servant gave him the slip up some desert wady and found their own way via Aaron's tomb into Wady Musa and Petra. There they found two ladies, Lady Evelyn Cobbold and her friend, who lent him his fare from Maan to Damascus. How little one thought in February, 1914, of what would take place three and a half years later in June, 1917: the wonderful epic of the taking of Akaba described in the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* and in Liddell Hart's *T. E. Lawrence in Arabia and after*.

After my survey of South Palestine was over, in May, 1914, J. P. S. Greig (then Lieut. R.E.) and I visited Woolley and Lawrence at Carchemish. Here we learnt from them something about Hittite remains but more about the local tribes and Turkish rule. Lawrence gave us vivid and amusing accounts of their dealings with the German engineers, then working on the Jerablus bridge close by, and on the Bagdad Railway. Woolley added interesting detail to make the story more complete. Later that summer they returned to England and wrote up the *Wilderness of Zin*.

On the outbreak of war, I had to leave the completion of my maps and reports to go to France; Woolley soon became an

Artillery officer, being rather taller than T. E. Lawrence though, as the latter remarked, Woolley's mathematics gave him no special claim. Lawrence being too short for the required standard at that time, offered his services to finish and edit my reports and maps. There are some nineteen letters of Lawrence's now with the P.E.F. written to Mr. Crace about the publishing of the *Wilderness of Zin*: which mention his appointment to the staff in Egypt. Eventually I was recalled from France and we went together to Marseilles on December 9, 1914, and thence 2nd class (for some unknown reason) on a Messageries Maritimes boat to Port Said and thence to Intelligence Headquarters, Cairo. Lawrence's direct activities with the P.E.F. finished in November, 1914, but he, with Woolley, had a wide influence in putting the facts and historical data of the desert of South Palestine on to a sound basis.

This note is only a slight summary of his work in connection with the P.E.F. This is not the place to describe his personality, nor am I competent to begin the task. It is already done in Liddell Hart's book, *T. E. Lawrence in Arabia and After*. In this book are found details of his work in the Beersheba to Akaba district (pp. 31–34 and p. 95) while Lawrence describes his journeyings in the *Wilderness of Zin* (pp. xiii, xiv, 3–14).

Mirage in the Wilderness

II.

Horeb and Kadesh-barnea.

By Canon Phythian-Adams

We pass now to the more complicated problem which has lain all the while behind the conjectures already examined, and which may be called the Kadesh-Ain Kadeis theory of the Exodus. If the weight of scholarship which this theory can claim in its support were the only standard by which its value could be assessed, there would be an end once and for all of the authenticity of the Horeb Tradition. Fortunately this is not the case. More powerful even than the reasoning faculty in man, and certainly far more powerful than the sober restraint of his learning, is the fascination of a *New Idea*, when it presents the alluring possibility of overturning long-accepted or unpalatable assumptions. The Ramesside date of the Exodus is an admirable example of this, as its remaining champions bear witness in their sublime indifference to the most damaging arguments and the least disputable facts. But the Kadesh-Ain Kadeis theory is even more notable, for it has succeeded in making mythical the most cherished traditions of Israel; it has commanded the adherence of practically all the leading Biblical scholars since Wellhausen; and there is yet to be discovered some scrap of tangible evidence in its favour.

Once more let those words be repeated, *tangible evidence!* If the Horeb Tradition is to be disproved, it cannot be done simply by juggling with documents or rather with the edited and re-edited fragments of which the present books of Exodus and Numbers are composed. A careful study of these is, of course, indispensable; but there is always this danger in it, that it is only too easy to stress an isolated sentence here and there as ancient and important when it is favourable to our interpretation and to ignore a whole verse elsewhere as a late

interpolation when it seems to obstruct or overthrow our argument[1]. The fact, of course, is that apart from the easily recognisable handiwork of P (the post-exilic "priestly" editor) the sources are often indistinguishable. "In many cases J E are nothing better than labels which we may change about as we please[2]." So much hope is there of obtaining a decisive verdict by this means! Rather, if we wish to test the authenticity of a tradition must we go *outside* the written documents and discover if we can some evidence purely external. Then with this in our hands we may return to our study of the sources, using now our newly acquired information to illuminate the obscurity of the text.

This disquisition may perhaps be pardoned in view of the arguments which we are now to examine. The greater part of these are purely textual conjectures, powerless in themselves to shake the authenticity of the Horeb Tradition, though even on this comparatively low level of significance they can be shown to be devoid of substance. As for the external evidence by which alone they could be corroborated, there is still, as far as eye can see, a vacant horizon!

Let us begin with some weighty judgments: "One of the most brilliant results of Biblical Criticism is to have established the importance of the role of Kadesh in the most ancient tradition of the Exodus[3]." So has written quite recently an eminent French savant who refers with approval to Wellhausen's exposure of the "adventitious character" of the Sinai episode, because it is "intercalated between two versions of the same events" and to Weill's demonstration that "Sinai or Horeb hardly intervened in the primitive narratives and that they constitute a mythological conception which time has developed without geographical precision." So too a great German

1 A good example of this is the extravagant emphasis placed upon Ex. xv. 25b. (especially "proved" as suggesting Massah) and upon Ex. xvi. 13a (the solitary mention of the quails) and the rejection of Nu. xiv. 44 (the Ark and Moses).

2 Gressmann *Mose.* p. 368.

3 R. Dussaud. *Les Phénicians au Négeb.* (Rev. de l' Hist. des Rel. 1933, p. 28).

Biblical Scholar who is also one of the more conservative in matters of criticism: "There can be no doubt that here (*i.e.* at Kadesh) we are *upon good historical ground*. The name Kadesh and the prominent place which the spot occupies in the tradition of the desert wanderings warrant the assumption that here there was located an ancient sanctuary with an important priesthood[1]." These are certainly strong statements, and the assurance with which they are uttered is almost intimidating. We may ask, nevertheless, on what proofs they are grounded, and it may be convenient in our review of these to follow the summary of the Kadesh theory, recently published by Prof. A. Lods[2].

"In the Pentateuch as we have it the importance of Kadesh is completely eclipsed by that of Sinai. But it can still be discerned that once this oasis occupied a much larger place in the Israelite tradition, and that it is there that most of the episodes of the wilderness sojourn are represented as happening[3]."

We may note here an important omission, an important fact, and a most important misstatement. The *omission* is that of Horeb, and it is important because it directs our eyes away from the fact that the whole "Sinai" colouring of the present narrative *overlies a more ancient tradition of the Mount of God*. This tradition may be found in its uncontaminated form in Deuteronomy in which not merely is the whole stress laid upon the Theophany at the Burning Mount (the Covenant, Tables of the Law, Ark etc.) and upon a prolonged sojourn there (Deuteronomy i. 6) but the only incident which is referred to Kadesh-barnea is the despatch of the spies (Deuteronomy i. 19); and the time spent there by Israel is short[4]. The

1 R. Kittel. *Gesch„ des Volkes Israel* 5th and 6th Ed. Vol. I. p. 372. The italics are mine. *cf.* also Gressmann (*Mose.* p. 438) who locates at Kadesh every important religious incident in the Wanderings.

2 Lods. *Israel.* Tr. by S. H. Hooke, 1932.

3 Lods. p. 176.

4 Dt. ii. 14 states that from the departure from Kadesh-barnea to the crossing of the brook Zered was thirty-eight years. This agrees with Nu. xiv. 25 in which after rejecting Caleb's report the people are ordered to turn *at once* ("tomorrow") back to the Yam Suph, nor is it affected by the vague reference of Dt. i. 46 to "many days" at Kadesh, for the use of the simplified name in place of the usual Kadesh-barnea reveals here plainly the hand of an editor.

significance of this will become more apparent when we consider the theory of "adventitious intercalation."

The important *fact* to be noted is that this Kadesh which has been thus "completely eclipsed" is to be localised with "geographical precision" at Ain Kadeis; the important *misstatement* is to describe that spot as an "oasis." On what ground, however, is this identification made? That the remains of a sanctuary are to be seen here, with perhaps North Arabian inscriptions on the rocks around? Such a sanctuary and such inscriptions are to be seen at the sacred Hejazi spring beneath Jebel Rum in el-Hismeh; this spot is indeed to this day the rallying point of the surrounding tribes. Petra, again, has its High Places, its spring and valley of Moses, its Jebel Harum. But neither at Ain Kadeis nor anywhere in its vicinity are any such sacred remains or even legendary associations to be found. But surely the spring itself retains the old name of Kadesh? On the contrary, "Kadeis, in Hejazi Arabic, is a scoop or bailer used in the bath for purification. The Sinai Arabs use such scoops (of wood) to lift up water from a shallow well. It does not mean "holy", as Trumbull and other writers have assumed[1]." But at least it is a verdant and fertile spot, as Trumbull has so graphically told us? On the contrary, it is "unusually naked even among the valleys of the south country . . . On each side the hills are very steep and bare . . . There is nowhere any green place, or any smooth ground . . . In all its length the Wady Ain Kadeis is a most unmitigated desert[2]." As for the spring or rather springs, they are no more than "steady trickles of water" capable of supporting "the few nomad households that are now the miserable population of the valley." One might have supposed that, confronted with this evidence, even the most hardened Kadesh-enthusiast would have beaten a dignified retreat. But this is to reckon without the overriding obsession of the Idea. What, after all, if Ain Kadeis itself does not appear to be quite suitable? Is there not Ain el-Guderat

1 P.E.F. Annual 1914-1915. p. 53 n. (The writer is T. E. Lawrence.)

2 *ib.* p. 55-6.

five miles away to the north beyond the next watershed?[1] Here there is certainly an abundant spring bursting from a limestone buttress and flowing through a green well-cultivated gorge, and here too are the remains, not of a sanctuary it is true, but a small fort or guard-house of uncertain but ancient date. It is true, of course, that Ain el-Guderat is not in any way connected with the name "Kadeis": its own name means "the spring of the earthenware kettles or small spouted pots." It is, furthermore, a fact that it is situated in a different plain and up an entirely distinct valley of its own. But these would seem to be minor and irrelevant details. "The name Kadesh today" says Kittel "is found in Ain Qdes, . . . but closely associated with it is the neighbouring Ain el-Qderat which is much richer in water and more prolific."[2] In other words, these two springs, the second now so necessary to supply the defects of Trumbull's exploded paradise, have become together in Lod's suggestive misstatement an "oasis"; and the unfortunate waters of the "spouted pots" are to be held from henceforth a mere appanage of the less romantic "wooden bailer." We can sympathise, after this, with the uneasiness of Dr. Musil, who after visiting Ain Kadeis and its neighbourhood, went off to look for Kadesh-barnea—in the Arabah! The bald fact, of course, is that the Kadesh equation is a mirage and nothing more; and with its exposure there vanish, also, of necessity all those fanciful conjectures which saw in this region a pre-Mosaic sanctuary of Jahweh with Jebel Hallal acting as a kind of superfluous Sinai. Once and for all let us shake off the hypnotic influence of Rowland's fatal "discovery." There is no Kadesh in the southern Negeb; there never has been: there has never indeed been present in that hypothesis anything more solid than the shimmerings of a fervid imagination—no sacred spring or rock, no oasis, no weather-beaten sanctuary, not the faintest echo of a legend, not even a name.

We return to our review of the evidence. "It is most probable that, according to an earlier form of the J- tradition,

1 *ib.* p. 52f. and Map II.
2 Kittel. *op. cit.* p. 370-1.

'the Israelites went straight to Kadesh after the Exodus, and did not make the detour first of all to Sinai.' [Lods is quoting Wellhausen]. Immediately after the story of the swallowing up of the Egyptians in the Red Sea we are told in a verse which apparently belongs to the Jahwistic tradition: 'They went three days in the wilderness and found no water' (Exodus xv. 22) Upon this there follows naturally the story of a miracle which enables the people to slake their thirst. We find, in fact, a few pages further on, and before the account of the arrival at Sinai, a J narrative of this kind: the story of the waters of Meribah (Exodus xvii. 1-7). Now the waters of Meribah were undoubtedly at Kadesh (Numbers xx. 1, 13, 24); their full name was " the waters of Meribah-Kadesh (Numbers 27. 14; Deuteronomy xxxii. 51; xxxiii. 2 emend.) Thus the primitive J account placed the arrival at Kadesh three days after the Israelites had entered the desert. The inference is that for this stage of the tradition, Kadesh was the goal, or at least the first halting place, of the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, and the scene of their first formal meeting with Jahweh; for the reiterated expression of their reason for wishing to leave Egypt had been: " Let us go *three days journey into the wilderness* that we may sacrifice to Jahweh our God (Exodus iii. 18; v. 3; viii. 23)."[1]

Here our first problem is the fragment Exodus xv. 22-27 (Marah and Elim) the relevant parts of which (from his point of view) Lods attributes to a " primitive Jahwistic tradition." Other scholars are, however, not so certain. While McNeile claims 22-25a and 27 for J and assigns 25b to E and 26 to R d, Driver makes the whole fragment E except for 26 (R je). Gressmann, on the other hand, will not allow 27 to the fragment at all, though he is not sure whether it is JE or P: the rest he assigns to JE, noting that the connection is faulty and that 25b, in particular, interrupts the context and belongs not to Marah but to Massah (Proving): he regards the fragment as an ætiological place-legend (Ortsage) and as having originally nothing to do with the Desert wanderings![2] This is certainly not

1 Lods. *op. cit.* pp. 176-7. The italics are his.

2 Gressmann (*Mose*) p. 121. Driver and McNeile Commentaries on Exodus. *ad loc.*

a very promising beginning for the Kadesh tradition, for it seems that we are faced with this dilemma: *either* the Marah episode must be treated, as Gressmann suggests, in isolation, *or* it must be read as part of the march-story and connected therefore with the next stage of the journey, Elim (27). If we accept the first alternative, it is useless to equate Marah with Kadesh; if the second, then as Lods himself is forced to admit, we are dealing *not* with the goal of the Israelites but merely with a single halting-place, which cannot *ex hypothesi* be Kadesh.

We turn next to the "three days' journey" on which so much emphasis is laid, an emphasis it may be said in passing which comes curiously from critics who are usually more concerned to point out the inaccuracy of Hebrew figures. Their argument, indeed, which seeks to equate the "three days" of Exodus iii. 18, etc., with the supposed length of a journey to Ain Kadeis has already collapsed, since there was no Kadesh-barnea in the Negeb; yet it is permissible to express some surprise that it should ever have been advanced. Had the narrative been a modern detective story, this neat equation would have provided an interesting "clue," but to claim it as a periphrasis deliberately intended to delude the Pharaoh imposes too great a strain upon our credulity. Actually Pharaoh's reply (Exodus viii. 28): "I will let you go.....only ye shall not go *very far away*" confirms Driver's interpretation of the phrase as a "current expression for a considerable distance (Genesis xxx. 36).....some distant spot in the wilderness where they would give no offence to the Egyptians (Exodus viii. 26)." Finally, we may observe that the miracle at Marah has nothing in common with that of Meribah (except that water occurs in them both) since in the one the water was already present but had to be "healed" while in the other it was not present and had to be produced. Leaving, however, the Massah-Meribah problem for the moment we may proceed to what is the real (critical) foundation of the Kadesh theory:

"... the fact that nearly all the episodes which in the present text intervene between the crossing of the Red Sea

and the arrival at Sinai (Exodus xvi.-xviii.) were originally located in the neighbourhood of Kadesh. They are indeed actually related a second time in connection with the stay which the Israelites were supposed to have made at this oasis after their journey to the holy Mount (Numbers xi. ; 14, 43, 45 ; xx)."[1]

This argument we have already encountered. It is designed to demonstrate the " adventitious character " of the Sinai (or Horeb) episode because it is " intercalated between two versions of the same events." We may now proceed to examine these episodes.

1. THE MANNA AND THE QUAILS (Exodus xvi ; Numbers xi.). In both these narratives, as they stand, both the manna and the quails are mentioned, but a very simple analysis of the former passage is sufficient to indicate the vital difference between them. In the *Exodus* narrative the original story (JE) read (verse 4) : " *Then said Jahweh unto Moses, Behold I will rain bread from heaven upon you,*" etc. There was here no mention of the quails. In verses 8-13. however, which bear all the usual traces of P the prodigality of Jahweh is enhanced : " *At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread..... And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered the camp : and in the morning the dew [Manna] lay round about the camp.*" Even the " non-critical " student, on reading the chapter as a whole, will notice the awkwardness of this single mention of the quails and will suspect that it has been intruded into the narrative : and this indeed is the simplest explanation. The " Priestly " editor, familiar as we all are with the whole story of the Wanderings, could not resist this opportunity for emphasising the bounty of God. Here, in any case, there is no sign of some " primitive tradition " which narrated the coming of the quails at this early period in the Wanderings : indeed the second episode (Numbers xi.) would be meaningless if this were so. There the whole point of the story is that the people, having become *by that time* tired of the manna, clamoured for

1 Lods (*op. cit.*) p. 177. He does not mention here the fourth episode (Officers and Elders) but as this too is believed by some scholars to be a " doublet " it is examined below.

some more palatable form of food. The miraculous abundance of quails was the response to their "lust." So far, then, from there being here two versions of the same event, there is well-marked and natural contrast.[1]

2. The Water-miracles at Horeb and Meribah-Kadesh (Exodus xvi. 2-7; Numbers xx). In the *Exodus* narrative the following points may be observed. Both Massah and Meribah show every sign of having been introduced into the story for ætiological reasons, the former to explain how Israel "tempted" Jahweh (or Jahweh "proved" Israel), the other to explain how Israel "strove" with Jahweh (or Moses). On the other hand the odd statement, "*Behold I will stand before thee there* [*where?*] *upon the rock in Horeb*" suggests no other explanation of its presence except that it represents a fragment of the original text.[2] Now it should be noticed that *Deuteronomy* knows of a Massah (Deuteronomy vi. 16), but places it not at Horeb but (as a scene of some unknown provocation) between the two other similar places Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah (Deuteronomy ix. 22). These places occur in Numbers xi. as halting places where the people murmured against Jahweh; and it is possible therefore that Massah was originally in the same context. In the *Numbers* narrative one of the few verses which are recognisable as JE (Numbers xx. 5) reads very much as if it had to do with some incident in which greed and not thirst played a part, for the chief stress is laid upon the absence of seed, figs, vines, and pomegranates, and the reference to the lack of water comes in very lamely at the end. The Water-miracle, on the other hand, which (on this view) has superseded some different "murmuring" story is quite clearly designed to identify, and explain the name of, a well-known spring in the wilderness. But this spring, called the Waters of Meribah-Kadesh, appears as a familiar boundary mark from the time of Ezekiel onwards, and the ground-work of the water-miracle, very evidently the work of P, must belong

1 The other critical difficulties of these passages are irrelevant to our present purpose and may therefore be ignored here.

2 For a fuller discussion of this miracle see *The Call of Israel*, pp. 65-72.

to the same or even a later date. A tentative explanation of the confusion between the two narratives may be summarised as follows: The Horeb Tradition located this miracle at Horeb itself. Much later (in post-exilic times) a spring called the Waters of Meribah-Kadesh came to be associated with this incident for special reasons.[1] The "Priestly" editor desiring to include this tradition in the existing narrative adapted to his purpose an older "murmuring" story (which may possibly have been that of Massah). The intrusion of Massah and Meribah into the Horeb water-miracle may then be explained on the same lines as the addition of the quails to the Manna story which has been noted above. All this, it must be repeated, is no more than a "plausible suggestion." What is essential for our present purpose is to notice that the Meribah-Kadesh miracle, far from being "primitive," is a late post-exilic addition and it is therefore impossible to argue that the Horeb episode has been "intercalated" in front of it. Long before it was ever thought of that episode was already connected with its own water-miracle.[2]

3. THE AMALEK BATTLES (Exodus xvii. 8-15; Numbers xiv. 43-45). The *Exodus* narrative *appears* to be out of place, for Moses is represented as an aged man and Joshua, who appears (as if for the first time) in Exodus xxxiii. 11 as a youth, is mentioned here without any introduction as already old enough to be the commander-in-chief of the army. On the other hand the reference to the battle in *Deuteronomy* (xxv. 17) strongly suggests an attack upon the Israelites during their first descent from the Tîh plateau into the Arabah, and it is not impossible that the two Joshua stories belong to two entirely different sets of tradition.[3] Be that as it may, the attempt to

1 It seems to have been identical with the present Ain Musa near Petra, the strange chasm of the Sik having suggested that the rock was struck by the Rod of God. (*ib.* pp. 69, 197 f.).

2 *cf.* Dt. viii. 15. It should be remembered also that *Deuteronomy* twice refers to Moses' punishment (i. 37; iv. 21) but knows nothing of the reason given for it in the Meribah-Kadesh story.

3 For an explanation of the "youthful Joshua" see *The Call of Israel*, p. 117.

equate the *Exodus* and *Numbers* narratives as two versions of the same event may reasonably excite astonishment. The former describes a great victory, the latter a resounding defeat. The victory is supernaturally accomplished by the Rod of God upheld in the hand of Moses, the defeat is inflicted upon them in the absence of Moses and the Ark.[1] There are here, then, what appear to be two battles with Amalek, the one near the beginning of the Exodus—the other after the return of the spies. But this is precisely what we should have expected if the Horeb Tradition is correct. The first of these fights takes place when Amalek attacks the rear of the exhausted fugitives as they are descending into the Arabah on their way to Midian : the other occurs when they have made their abortive attempt upon the Negeb from Kadesh-barnea (Petra ?) and are being chased back into the Arabah again. It would be certainly hard to find here, on any reasonable hypothesis, any ground for the theory of intercalation !

4. THE OFFICERS (RULERS) AND THE ELDERS. (Exodus xviii. 13-27) ; Numbers xi. 11-12 ; 14-17 ; 24b-30)[2]. The *Exodus* narrative appears to be out of place in its present context and that for two reasons. First, while it clearly belongs to the Horeb Tradition, it speaks of " the statutes and the laws " which have not yet *ex hypothesi* been given ; second, the occasion of this story which is preserved in *Deuteronomy* is placed exactly where we should expect it, *i.e.* after the Theophany (Deuteronomy i. 9 f). The *Numbers* narrative (of the " inspiration " of seventy elders) has obviously nothing to do with the story of the quails with which it has been interwoven ; it is an independent wilderness-story which pre-supposes the Theophany (but not the

1 The omission by Lods of verse 44, even if critically justified, does not alter the essential features of the story.

2 For separate discussion see *The Call of Israel*, p. 72 f, p. 121. In the *Exodus* narrative Gressmann discovers quite needlessly a combination of two sources. Both McNeile and Driver assign it to E, though it would seem to be a secondary element in the Horeb Tradition. According to Gressmann the words (v. 5) " the Mount of God " have been inserted by a Redactor in the style of E, but G. presses his " doublets " theory too heavily.

Tables of Stone) but was probably never assigned to any particular stage in the journey. A glance at the subject of these two narratives will decide very quickly whether they can be called two versions of the same event.

The former describes an elaborate organisation of the people by thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens for the purposes of a more perfect judicial administration ; the latter, though it deals with the " inspiration " of seventy elders ostensibly for the purpose of sharing the " burden of the people " with Moses, is in reality not concerned with this as its primary object but has for its point the noble reply made by Moses to Joshua. The one is, in short, a " civil administration " story ; the other, something very much like a parable. It may be added that a quite unsuccessful attempt has been made by some editor to bring the *Numbers* narrative into line with that of *Exodus* (note the single reference to " officers " in Numbers xi. 16—the same word as in Exodus) but this and other textual complications do not here concern us. As to the date of the stories themselves, I have given reasons elsewhere for holding that the former (comprising the whole of Exodus xviii) is a " political " insertion of the early years of Solomon, and that the latter is shown by its theological framework to belong to the Ark-less years of pre-Davidic Israel. Neither story can be considered an original element of the Horeb Tradition.

Our review of these episodes being ended let us now enquire what evidence there is for assuming that any of them took place at Kadesh-barnea. *In the narrative as it stands* (excluding P) we learn that the spies were sent from Kadesh ; that Miriam died there ; and that Moses sent his embassy to Edom from there. That is all. In other words, *even if these episodes had proved to be versions of the same events,* it would still remain a fact that not one of them is connected with Kadesh-barnea in the accepted J E tradition ! But here a glance at the analytical methods of a " Kadesh " enthusiast will prove illuminating. In his remarkable essay upon the wilderness sojourn of the Israelites, Weill provides a " restitution " of what he thinks

to be the most primitive J- Tradition. Here it is[1]: "Exodus xv. 22b. . . *three days they went in the desert without finding water . . . (and arrived at Kadesh*[2]). Numbers xx. 1aβ *and the people abode at Kadesh.* Exodus xvii. 1bβ *and there was no water for the people to drink.* Exodus xvii. 2aα =Numbers xx. 3aα *and the people strove with Moses and said:* Exodus xii. 2abβ. *Give us water to drink.*" And so on, the end being very instructive: "7abα. *and he called the place Massah and Meribah because the children of Israel there had striven and tempted Jahweh (and also because)* Exodus xv. 2b. . . *there he (Jahweh) gave them a law and an ordinance, and there he proved him.*" So Gressmann[3] finds it possible to discern that according to the "other" tradition Kadesh saw (*a*) Moses' fight with Jahweh and winning of the Urim and Thummim (Deuteronomy xxxiii. 8); (*b*) his receiving a "statute and ordinance" (Exodus xv. 25); (*c*) his first altar and sacrifice to Jahweh (Exodus xviii. 1 ff); (*d*) his instruction by Jahweh in the art of healing (Exodus xv. 22 ff), and in the making of the brazen serpent (Numbers xxi. 4 ff); (*e*) his acquiring of the Ark (Numbers x. 29 ff), and first use of the oracle for the administration of justice (Exodus xviii. 33 ff); (*f*) the institution of the Sabbath (Exodus xvi. 1 ff), and the struggle for the priesthood (Leviticus x. 1 ff; Numbers xii. 1 ff; xvi. 1 ff). If Sinai can be described by these scholars as the magnet which has attracted everything to itself, what shall we say of the mesmeric influence of their own Ain Kadeis? But how shall we deal with these exhibitions of synthetic jugglery or rather should it not be asked, Is there anything here sufficiently solid to combat? To propound what is in effect a revolutionary thesis with the claim that it overthrows the faith of at least thirty centuries and then to confess that it is these methods only which can establish it, what is this but to

1 R. Weill *Le Séjour des Israélites au Désert et le Sinai.* 1909. p. 77.

2 The brackets and insertions are those of Weill.

3 Gressmann (*Mose*) p. 438. One receives from such efforts the impression of an entertaining pastime which has become harmful through being treated seriously.

reveal its authentic origin and to dissolve its elements into the mirage from which they rose?

Finally, let us ask one question. Would this mirage, which starting from Ain Kadeis has succeeded in enveloping the minds of so many Biblical scholars, have exercised so fatal a fascination upon them if they had not had at the same time a strong reason for abandoning the Mount of God? This surely is the crux of the whole matter. So long as the phenomena described in the "canonical" Tradition seemed to admit of no normal physical explanation, Horeb lay for these scientists under the lowering cloud of the Incredible. That is why it was necessary for them to treat it as a "mythological conception"; that too has been the one really compelling motive behind all their arbitrary "reconstruction" of the narrative; and that, and that only will explain, if it does not excuse, their most uncritical haste in seizing upon Ain Kadeis and adopting as an oasis "a most unmitigated desert." Is it then too much to hope that the very simple explanation which is now offered of these "mythological" phenomena will set free some at least of these scholars from the spell which insensibly holds them? Then indeed a mirage would be lifted from the face of the wilderness, and there could be recognised once more over Israel the tokens of an outstretched Arm.

The Chronology of Palestinian Epigraphy

By T. H. Gaster.

1. Recent discoveries in Palestine have revolutionised our knowledge of writing in that country. The main results may be summarised as follows :—

(*a*) Alphabetical writing can now be pushed back to the Middle Bronze Age (*c.* 2000–1600 B.C.), thanks to the discovery of an alphabetically inscribed jar-handle of this period at Gezer. Hitherto, our oldest inscription was the Moabite Stone, dating about 850 B.C.

(*b*) We now know that the so-called " Phoenician " alphabet was not the earliest form of writing in Palestine. It was preceded for some centuries by a variety of alphabetical script derived from that which has been found in the Sinaitic mines of Serabit al Hadim and which dates about 1850 B.C. Specimens of this script in Palestine, dating *c.* thirteenth to twelfth centuries B.C. have recently been found at Tell Duweir and Ain Shemesh in the south.

(*c*) The history of the Phoenician alphabet is slowly becoming clearer. We can now trace its development in part from the earlier " Sinaitic " script, and can show that it was already beginning to assume its standard shape by the thirteenth century B.C. At this date we may detect its influence (*a*) upon the then prevalent " Sinaitic " script, as evidenced by an ostracon from Ain Shemesh ; (*b*) in a curious hybrid alphabet from Byblos composed of Egyptian hieroglyphs, Syro-Hittite pictograms and a leaven of other characters which are identical with early Phoenician types ; (*c*) in the characters of an alphabet underlying the cuneiform adaptation recently discovered at Ras Shamra in N. Syria and at Ain Shemesh in S. Palestine.

(*d*) We also know that even before the days when the " Sinaitic " alphabet had currency, there existed a certain form of linear script, probably of syllabic character. This

dates back into the Early Bronze Age (2500–2000 B.C.) and occurs in the form of pottery markings from the lowest strata of Tell el Hesy and Gezer. It also appears on seals recently found at Teleilat Ghassul, though the authenticity of these last has been doubted. This script is identical with that found in First Dynasty tombs at Abydos and on Minoan and Mykenean seals. It therefore constitutes a definite system.

(*e*) Earlier specimens of the formalised Phoenician script are now available, and we need no longer start from the ninth-century Moabite Stone. Inscriptions have been found at Byblos dating from the thirteenth century and written in this script, whilst a series of ostraca from Ahab's palace in Samaria recovers for us the cursive form of it in the ninth century.

2. Now that our knowledge has been so materially increased, the question arises: Can epigraphical criteria be used, in the same way as is pottery, for purposes of dating in Palestinian archæology? The answer to this question will obviously depend upon our ability to construct a chronologically determined series of inscriptions which might serve as epigraphical "types" for the various periods. There are many difficulties in the way of such an achievement:—

(*a*) The inscriptions which we possess do not cover each single century, but are merely links in a yet unwelded chain. For several periods we have to fall back upon speculation and "reconstructions."

(*b*) These inscriptions do not come from a single site or area and, since writing may well have developed at varying rates in different parts, they cannot be regarded as constituting an organic chain from which deductions can be drawn. As in the case of fossils and ceramics, although comparisons are instructive in making out general series, the limitations of purely local considerations cannot be eliminated.

(*c*) A distinction must always be made between epigraphical and chronological sequence. That which is more primitive is not necessarily more ancient. Thus, the modern Samaritans of Nablus write in a more primitive script than do the Jews of

the same city, and the Gothic type heading a daily newspaper is of different date epigraphically from the Roman type of its columns.

(*d*) In many cases the date of an inscription, in terms of centuries, is still a matter of dispute. Thus, the Ahiram inscription—probably our oldest monument of the " Phoenician " script—is dated by some authorities in the thirteenth century B.C., but by others as late as the tenth century. Again, the important ostracon from Ain Shemesh is thought by its discoverer (Grant) to date in the fourteenth century B.C., whereas Dussaud places it in the tenth–ninth, Dhorme in the sixteenth (!), and the present writer in the twelfth. In the face of such variations, it cannot be said that Palestinian epigraphical material yet admits of precise dating by centuries.

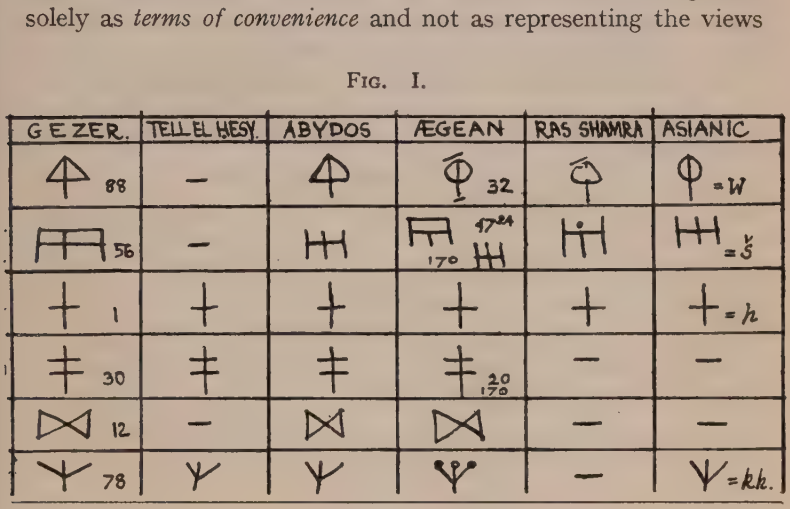
3. It is understood that the above difficulties arise more in the case of the older inscriptions (*i.e.*, before 600 B.C.) than in the case of the later, where collateral evidence as to date is often available. Accordingly, in attempting to construct a chronological series out of the earlier inscriptions, some method will have to be devised which obviates the necessity of dating in centuries, but which still admits of the material's being profitably used in the form of epigraphic " types " for purposes of dating.

We therefore propose to adopt in the classification of earlier inscriptions the same system as is employed in the case of ceramics. The specimens will be registered according to *style*, and to each style we shall assign an age rather than a century. Thus, we shall speak of Early, Middle and Late Sinaitic, etc., giving to each an index number after the fashion : S.I., S.II., S.III., etc. In this way the extant material, duly catalogued, will serve as the skeleton-outline for the construction of a progressive tabulation ; future specimens falling between these limits can be assigned their positions in the scheme by means of decimals, exactly as in the Dewey system of library classification.

It will be understood that this method will yield only an epigraphic sequence, not a temporal chronology. Nevertheless, it is already possible to fit the epigraphic sequence into some sort of serviceable chronology, if once it be admitted that exact dating in terms of centuries is impossible at present.

We present below a list of the styles into which we would divide the earlier inscriptions. Full indications are given as to the inscriptions in which the various styles are represented, and we have also added in each case a brief discussion of its origin and provenance. It has only to be pointed out that the terms "Sinaitic" and "Phoenician" are to be regarded solely as *terms of convenience* and not as representing the views

FIG. I.



PROTO-LINEAR SCRIPT (WITH COGNATES).

FIG. I.—The Gezer specimens are taken from Macalister, Gezer Plate CXC., the numbers referring to the examples there figured.

The Tell el Hesy specimens are taken from Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, pp. 21 ff.

The Abydos specimens are taken from Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, Vol. I. p. 32.

The Aegean specimens are taken from Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Vol. I., the numbers referring to the pages of that work.

The Ras Shamra specimens (of Enkomian provenance ?) are taken from SYRIA, 1932, p. 23, fig. 15.

The Asianic examples are cited from the list given in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Kleinasiatische Alphabete.

of modern scholarship in regard to the real origin of those various types and styles. Like the very term " Semitic " itself, we adhere to them only in deference to established usage.

1. PROTO-LINEAR (Fig. 1.).—This is the script of potsherds from the early strata of Tell el Hesy and Gezer and of seals from Teleilat Ghassul. These date from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (*c.* 2300–1600 B.C.).

This script is not yet deciphered, but has a clear relationship to (*a*) Minoan and Mycenean linear scripts ; (*b*) the letters on weights and ingots from many parts of the Aegean area ; (*c*) the script of potters' marks in First Dynasty tombs at Abydos ; (*d*) the later Asianic alphabets, e.g., Carian, Lycian, Lydian, Pamphylian, etc. ; (*e*) the Cypriote syllabary.

It also stands in some sort of relationship with the " Phoenician " alphabet, and has been claimed by Petrie and Evans to be its prototype.

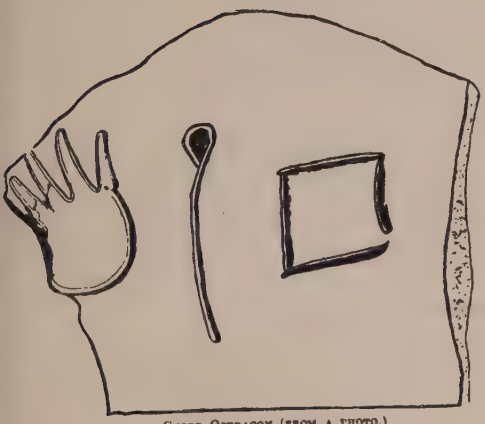
Its subsequent history is curious, for it seems to have survived right down to the time of the Crusades as a conventional script for potters' and masons' marks, a particularly arresting example of it being an inscription from Neby Samuel, figured in the *Survey of W. Palestine III*.

In *OLz*, 1900, coll. 200 ff. Peiser published two tablets in an analogous script, picked up by him at Constantinople in 1897 without indication of date or provenance. These were reprinted by Böhl in *AOf*, 1933, p. 173, but are still undeciphered. If genuine, they will throw light on the history of this linear script.

In *JRAS*, 1923, pp. 35-73, Robert Eisler attempted to read and interpret legends in this script inscribed on weights and ingots from Hagia Triada, Enkomi and other sites. His decipherment, which proceeded from a Semitic basis, cannot be said to be wholly acceptable, though his identification of this script with the " Cadmean " of ancient authors is illuminating.

A silver goblet found at Ras Shamra, the inscription on which is figured in *Syria*, 1932, p. 23, fig. 15, bears a legend in this script. The goblet dates *c.* 1500 B.C., but this cannot be

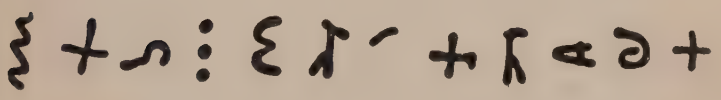
FIG. II.



GEZER OSTRACON (FROM A PHOTO.)

"Sinaitic" Script
ca. 1800–1200 B.C.

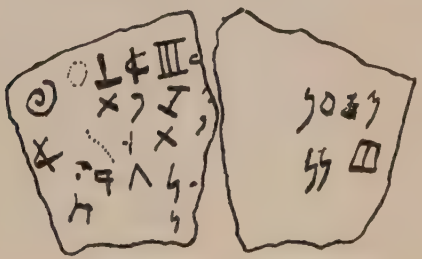
A.– Early Sinaitic (S.I).
(Middle Bronze Age)



B.– Middle Sinaitic: The Tell Duweir Ewer Inscription
(c. 1250 B.C.)

OSTRACON FROM ʿAIN-SHEMESH.

C.– Third Sinaitic.
(xiith cent. B.C.?)



Obverse. Reverse.

used as evidence that the script continued in Syria in active use till so late a date, for the goblet may well have come from a foreign Aegean source.

The later use of this script as a convention in potters' and masons' marks is analogous to our own ceremonial use of the ancient Gothic type.

2. Early Sinaitic (S.I). (Fig. II, A.)—This is represented by a fragmentary inscription (reading ב ל י B L I) on a jar-handle found at Gezer in 1929. The writing is identical with that of the Sinaitic inscriptions from Serabit al Hadem, usually dated *c.* 1850 B.C. *The jar-handle is dated by Vincent, Grant and Thomsen in the Middle Bronze Age* (*c.* 2000–1600 B.C.).

3. Middle Sinaitic (S.II). (Fig. II, B).—This is represented by the script of the Tell Duweir ewer found by the Wellcome Expedition in 1934. Owing to a gap in the middle of the text, it has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The characters, however, (except for one sign, probably a *gimel*), are certain. The script is a later form of the palaeo-Sinaitic. The shape of *aleph* already approximates to the "Phoenician" style; *shin* is upright and no longer horizontal though *mem* and *nun* still retain their original quasi-pictographic form. *The date is fixed by Starkey as* 1295–1262 *B.C.*

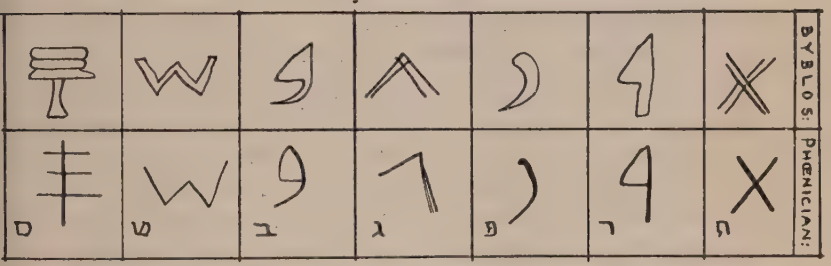
4. Late Sinaitic (S.III). (Fig. II, c.)—This occurs on an ostracon found by Grant at Ain Shemesh in 1929 and published by him in *Revue Biblique*, 1930, p. 401. Another copy by R. D[ussaud] appears in *Syria*, '30, p. 393.

The discoverer dates the ostracon in the fourteenth century —an opinion in which Albright concurs (*Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 186, n. 74). The subsequent find of the Tell Duweir inscription, definitely dated in the thirteenth century, however, compels a reconsideration of the dating. The letters on the ostracon are clearly more developed than on the ewer and approximate nearer to "Phoenician" forms. Thus, *nun* is no longer quasi-pictographical, but resembles that of Early Phoenician (PH.I); *heth* has already the "window" pattern of

PH. and is no longer the " twisted skeins " of palaeo-Sinaitic and of the cuneiform adaptation thereof. *Mem* also, in Dussaud's copy, has already developed the long right-hand vertical, but this does not appear in Grant's copy, and Albright asserts (*loc. cit.*) that it is definitely archaic. It would appear from these considerations that the ostracon-script is nearer to PH.I than is S.II, and we may therefore classify it as S.III of later date. Dussaud has come to the same conclusion by another line, though his date tenth–ninth century is perhaps too late.

5. Alphabetical Cuneiform.—This is the script of the Semitic and Asianic texts from Ras Shamra (Ugarit) and of a curious ovoid object from Ain Shemesh. The Ras Shamra tablets are dated in the thirteenth century B.C., but the script is most probably older.

Fig. III.



PHOENICIAN ANALOGIES IN AN EARLY SCRIPT FROM BYBLOS
illustrating forms of Phoenician script possibly current ca. XIIIth cent. B.C.
N.B. This would be the earliest evidence of definitely " Phoenician " script.

The cuneiform alphabet is an adaptation from a form of writing standing between Middle Sinaitic (S.II) and Early Phoenician (Ph. I). The letters had by this time already developed some " Phoenician " forms, e.g., *heh*, *teth*, *mem* and *samek*, but early Sinaitic forms, anterior to S.III, also appear, e.g., *heth II*, *nun*, *beth*, *sade II*, *peh*, *qoph*, etc. In some cases, the signs seem to be adapted from forms which survived only in the South Semitic alphabets, but which mark a very clear development from the palaeo-Sinaitic, e.g., *gimel* and *kaph*.

In the accompanying table (Pl. II.) an attempt is made to trace each of the cuneiform signs to its prototype.

In *Revue des Études Sémitiques*, 1934, No. 2, pp. xiii–xvi, Février attempts to show a connection between the cuneiform alphabet and the South Semitic, supposing that the former arose from an early horizontal form of the latter. This attempt rests upon an error of method, for the fact is, as Gardiner and Sethe have made abundantly clear, that the South Semitic alphabet is itself a development of the Sinaitic. Hence, the correspondences which admittedly obtain between the cuneiform alphabet and the South Semitic depend solely upon a common source, and not upon a direct borrowing from one by the other. It happens, however, in the case of *gimel* and *kaph* that the forms from which the cuneiform was adapted approximate to developments of the original Sinaitic such as survived in South Semitic though superseded in "Phoenician"; this, however, does not prove Février's general thesis, but merely illustrates the stage of evolution at which the adaptation took place.

The Ain Shemesh ovoid is epigraphically peculiar for the fact that the writing is here in the opposite direction to that of the Ras Shamra tablets. The same phenomenon appears on a yet unexplained tablet unearthed at Ras Shamra in 1933 and published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, XV., fasc. 1. It is not impossible that this reflects the variability of the original script, for Sinaitic and South Semitic are, as is well known, written in both directions.

The Ain Shemesh ovoid has been treated by Barton in *Asor*, December, 1933, p. 5, but we cannot concur in his interpretation, nor is it even certain that the language is Semitic. The caution of Albright, *ibid.* February, 1934, p. 18, is to be preferred.

As for the Ras Shamra tablet, it seems to us that this is clearly some sort of inventory or account. The method of numeration seems to follow the Minoan pattern, the little circles representing tens and the diamonds (the alphabetical *'ayin*) representing hundreds (or vice-versa?). The vertical

strokes would then be single units, and the first six signs (reading from right to left) would be "XV" rather than ע ב ד, as supposed by Virolleaud. The single letter *resh* which figures frequently must also have some special connotation, and is perhaps the initial of some kind of word of measurement. On Minoan methods of numeration *v.* Arthur Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I. p. 256.

6. Early Phoenician (Ph.I).—*The development which is usually termed "Phoenician" does not appear before the close of the Late Bronze Age* (*c.* 1200 B.C.), although incipient stages of it may already be recognised in S.III and in alphabetical cuneiform. It is probable, therefore, that at the time of our earliest known "Phoenician" inscription, it had already something of a history behind it.

The earliest document which we possess is probably the inscription on the sarcophagus from Ahiram at Byblos (Pl. III.). *This is now commonly dated in the twelfth century B.C.* The Sinaitic prototypes are clearly discernible and the variations due to obvious development. *Mem* still retains its pictographic form, though placed upright, and *kaph* is identical with one of the Sinaitic forms, except for the loss of a horizontal stroke at the base. *Lamed* has become a conventional curve instead of a complete twist, whilst in *teth* the circle and cross originally placed beside each other have been fused into a ligature. *Shin* is still horizontal and *qaph* is formed with a complete circle and stroke and not with the semi-circle and stroke, as later. *Sade* has developed a distinctive form, the prototype of which may perhaps be seen in S.III, though this is admittedly doubtful.

The contemporaneity of the Ahiram inscription with the Ras Shamra Poem of Aleyan-Baal and Mot (or at least with the redaction of it which we possess) is seemingly indicated by the exact parallelism of phrasing between the words *thtṣp ḥṭ mšpṭh, thtpk kṣ mlkh* (let the sceptre of his judgment be broken, the throne of his sovereignty be overturned) in the former with the phrase *lyhpk kṣ mlkk, lysbr ḥṭ mšpṭk* in the latter (First Tablet,

Col. VI. 28-9), as already pointed out by us in *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 858, 895, and as approved by Hempel and Ginsberg.

Almost identical in style with the Ahiram inscription, and therefore safely classified with it, are (*a*) the inscription of Yehaw Milk from Byblos; (*b*) the Gezer agricultural calendar (Pl. III.), now commonly dated in the tenth century B.C.; (*c*) the Mesha Inscription ("Moabite Stone") usually dated *c.* 850 B.C. *We may claim, therefore, that Early Phoenician (Ph. I) lasted roughly from the thirteenth to the ninth century B.C.*

A new factor in the history of Ph. I is perhaps introduced by the discovery of an inscription written in an obscure alphabet (or syllabary ?) at Byblos, and published by Dunand in *Syria*, XI. (1930) pp. 1 ff (Fig. III). According to the discoverer, this script is of hybrid character, exhibiting elements drawn from (*a*) Egyptian hieroglyphs; (*b*) Syro-Hittite hieoglyphs; (*c*) Phoenician. Whatever be the origin of this curious script, it is demonstrably clear that certain characters are absolutely identical with Phoenician characters. Thus, *samek* and *nun* are unmistakable, as are also *resh*, *peh*, *gimel*, *shin*, *beth* and *thaw*. *Yod* and *zayin* are less certain, but also possible identifications (Dunand, *loc. cit.* p. 8). Whether these signs had the same value as in Phoenician we cannot yet say, nor whether they were drawn from an already standardized Phoenician list of characters ("alphabet"). The important point is that in this distinct and apparently hybrid script, *dating c. thirteenth century B.C.*, there are elements which also appear, standardized and stereotyped, in Phoenician. This cannot but have a direct bearing on the history of the development of Phoenician script.

7. Second Phoenician (Ph. II).—This is represented in two forms, viz., (*a*) straight (*b*) cursive. *Both date in the eighth century B.C.*

The straight form occurs on the famous inscription in the Siloam tunnel. The cursive form occurs on ostraca found in the treasury of Ahab's palace in Samaria.

The differences between the cursive and straight forms are slight and such as can be satisfactorily explained as due

to the nature of the materials employed. The cursive forms represent what would naturally result from writing with ink and pen and are characterised by sweeps and flourishes designed to avoid lifting the pen. Thus, *kaph* is finished off with a sweeping tail, *beth* is written with an oblique flourish rather than with the neat horizontal at the base; the circle of *qoph* has developed into a cursive loop, whilst *samek* shows manifest signs of adaptation to a "running hand." Nevertheless, it is apparent that the script of the Siloam inscription and that of the ostraca are the same, the variations being due solely to the manner of writing it in each case.

However, what distinguishes Ph. II from Ph. I, even in the former's straight variety, is its tendency to cursiveness. *Aleph*, for instance, is merely a "quick" form of Ph.I aleph, with omission of the triangular apex. *waw* and *zayin* are rapid forms of Ph. I waw and zayin; *sade* and *qoph* show similar traits. It may therefore be suggested that the common use of this alphabet for rapid writing on ostraca, which may have developed, at this period, actively influenced its style and form, and that the traits of cursiveness thence arising gradually obtained a standardised form in all uses of the script.

Chronology.

1. Proto-Linear occurs in Early Bronze levels (*c.* 2500–2000 B.C.). Later appearances probably indicate imported Aegean ware.

2. Sinaitic appears in Middle and Late Bronze levels. When identical with the script of Serabit al Hadim it belongs to the First Period (S.I), dating in Middle Bronze. When it shows deterioration from the original pictographs, but no Phoenician crossing, it belongs to the Second Period (S.II), of which the known representative is the Tell el Duweir ewer, dating *c.* 1250 B.C. When it shows the influence of Phoenician formal shapes, it belongs to the Third Period (S. III).

3. Phoenician, as a formal system, first appears toward the close of Late Bronze (*c.* thirteenth century B.C.). It may

be expected, however, two or three centuries earlier, since its influence already appears in Ras Shamra cuneiform (fourteenth century latest), and in a hybrid script from Byblos (thirteenth century). The First Period lasts till *c.* ninth century, and is characterised by squareness and formality. The Second Period dates from *c.* ninth to sixth centuries and is characterised by cursiveness, due to the change from incised writing on stone to penned writing on ostraca.

4. Alphabetical Cuneiform is yet undated. It reflects script between S.III and Ph.I.

(*To be continued.*)

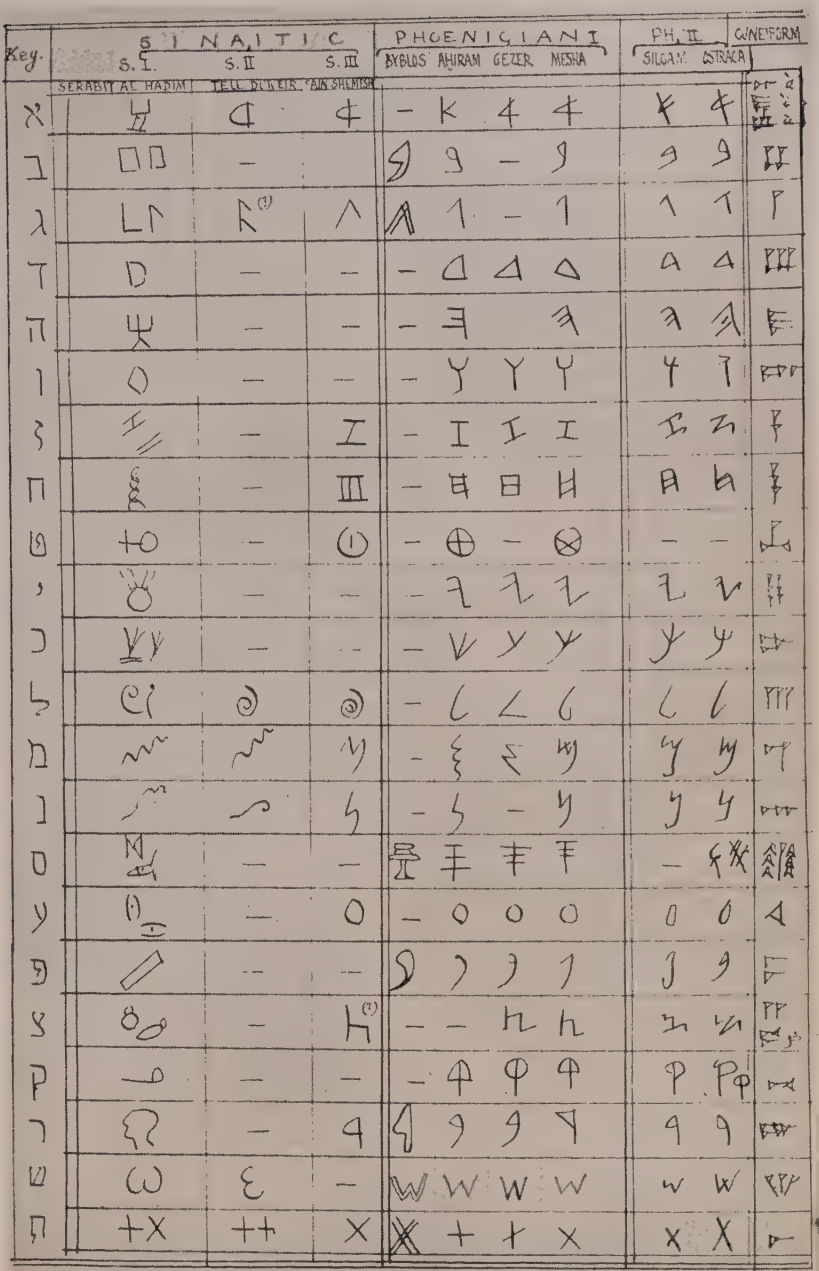


TABLE OF EARLY PALESTINIAN SCRIPTS. [T.H. Gaster.

THE RAS-SHAMRA CUNEIFORM ALPHABET AND ITS PROTOTYPES

S = "Sinaitic"; Ph = "Phœnician"; SS = South Semitic.

Key:	CUNEIFORM	ORIGINAL	Key:	CUNEIFORM	ORIGINAL
א ʾa, ʾi, ʾu		?	ל		?
ב		? secondary; from ת	מ		Ph.
ג ġ		?	נ		S.
ד		S.	ס		Ph.
ה		S_3.	ע		S.
ו		?	ʿa, ʿi, ʿu ġ		secondary from ע
ז		Ph.	פ		S.
ח		Ph.	צ ṣ		?
ט		S.	ק		S.
י		S.	ר		S.
כ ḫ		S.	ש		?
ל		Ph.	ת		S.
מ		(?) S.	ث		secondary
נ		SS.	ḫ		?

ALPHABETICAL CUNEIFORM
and its PROTOTYPE

AHIRAM INSCRIPTION
(Illustrating PEFQ, xiith cent. B.C.)

Early Phenician Script (PEFQ, I).

±1400–±850 B.C.

GEZER AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR
(Illustrating PEFQ, xth cent. B.C.)

Note on Excavations at Bishop Gobat School 1933

By R. W. Hamilton.

" As the C.M.S. had decided to enlarge Bishop Gobat's School which was built at the south-west corner of ancient Jerusalem when extensive remains of a rock cut stack with traces of a tower were found years ago ; the Principal, the Rev. A. Campbell MacInnes, communicated with the P.E.F. in order that provision should be made to make an Archaeological report on the results of digging the foundation for the new buildings. Through the kind offices of the Government Department of Antiquities, the Rev. R. W. Hamilton was asked to watch the work on behalf of the Department, and the report below is the result. Nothing of very great importance was found, but it is an area which was at one time just outside the ancient City walls, and the fortified south-west tower, and the P.E.F. feel that any work done in the proximity of so important a site should be thoroughly investigated. We are much obliged to Mr. Hamilton for his report."—(Hon. Sec. P.E.F.)

The area of excavation is shown on the plan, (Pl. I.) outlined by the broken line. The relation to pre-existing School buildings is indicated by the thin lines. Throughout this area the debris was cleared away entirely and the rock exposed. The debris was composed exclusively of rubbish thrown down the slope of the hill, being loose and fine : it contained a large proportion of pot-sherds. Pl. II, shows the section of this rubbish as exposed on the line p—q at the south side of the excavation.

Along most of the eastern side of the cutting, a vertical rock face was exposed (Plate III. a). It is of soft, irregular rock, pitted with holes, some of which have been partially stopped with rubble masonry. At the foot of this rock face is a shelving platform on which are the remains of two or three rough walls lying approximately parellel to the contours of the hillside. The wall at x is seen in Plates III., b, V. a and b, and a detail of its masonry in Pl. IV., a. The stones seem to have originated in an earlier building and are very roughly set together. They have a rough chiselled boss 1 to 6 cm. deep, and a marginal draft (comb-pick) about 10 cm. wide. Y is merely a single line of rubble, while z, which is a fairly solid construction, though of undressed stones (Pl. IV., b) was apparently intended to fill up a depression in the rock in connection with a terracing of the

hillside. The only other feature in the very rough rock surface to be noted is the remains of a rectangular excavation at v. This was plastered internally with a composition of lime, ashes and small crushed potsherds. It was about 100 cm. deep, the floor sloping downwards to the north.

The conformation of the debris is best seen in Pl. II. The sections outlined and lettered are distinct from one another in contents or in the time of their deposition. A is mainly composed of stone building chips and derives presumably from the coustruction of the School. B is loose thrown earth and belongs either to the same occasion or to the work of Maudslay in 1874-5, which is described in the Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statement* of 1875, on pages 81 ff. D is composed of earth of uncertain date. All the rest of the debris is ancient and from the pottery mixed with it appears to be of late Hellenistic or Herodian date. A small proportion of sherds found, however, are Israelite dating from 900 to 600 B.C. Of C and E, the latter appears to have been the earlier, since it already existed and was dug through when the wall z was constructed. C on the other hand must have been laid down after the completion of z. The majority of pottery types, however, are common to both C and E. It is noticeable that E is composed of alternating layers of fine mud and of gravel mixed with potsherds. This formation is less marked in C, in which small stone chips preponderate.

The pottery in E was mainly Hellenistic, but some burnished red-slip fragments (Middle Iron Age) were found in the lower part of the debris. Throughout C sherds of this kind were rare. On the other hand several pieces of terra sigillata were found in C, though none were recovered from E.

Some characteristic fragments from C and E respectively are drawn on Pl. VI. The lamp on photographs 8 and 9 was found at a low level in E. Nos. 1 to 7 in the following list are from E, Nos. 8 to 17 from C.

PLAN OF EXCAVATION

View of Excavation Looking South

(*a*) North End of Trench

(*b*) Wall at (*x*) in Plan

(*a*) Detail of Masonry

(*b*) View of Stone Filling (*z*)

(*a*) View of Wall at (*x*)

(*b*) View of Wall at (*x*)

POTTERY FROM C AND E (*Pl. II.*)

	Potsherd Drawings.		Level, metres below surface
E.	1. Bottle neck ...	Hard grey with drab surface	2·60—3·60
			2·60—3·60
	2. Tear bottle neck ...	Buff	2·60—3·60
	3. Jar neck	Dark grey	2·60—3·60
	4. „ „	Buff	2·60—3·60
	5. „ „	Light red, greyish buff surface	2·60—3·60
	6. Bowl rim	red brown, white grits, coarse red slip burnished	2·60—3·60
	7. Dish fragment ...	Terra sigillata ...	2·00—3·00
C.	8. Bowl rim	Light red burnished slip	Close to rock
	9. Cooking pot ...	Dark brown	
	10. „ „ ...	Red brown, white grits	
	11. Jar neck	Light red, white grits	
	12. „ base	Grey buff	Opposite face of x
	13. Bottle neck ...	Grey	„ „ „
	14. Lamp fragment ...	Buff	„ „ „
	15. Tear bottle fragment	Light red	„ „ „
	16. Bottle neck ...	Greyish buff ...	„ „ „
	17. Jar neck	Light red, creamy surface	„ „ „

Correspondence

DEAR SIR,—I was not a little surprised to read in the JOURNAL over the name of Canon Adams, the sentence:

"The excavational evidence from Jericho now proves quite unambiguously that that invasion led by Joshua took place about 1400 B.C.":—

and I beg to submit that this said "excavational evidence" proves nothing of the sort. To use the word "unambiguously" is a very dangerous course indeed. I have followed, with the greatest care, every atom of information, which the work at Jericho has supplied, and have discussed the matter with Professor Garstang. Because the Hebrew account relates certain matters with regard to Jericho on the one hand, and because, on the other, excavations supply material, before the break, up to the time of Amenhetep III., appears to me to provide no grounds for the assertion which is given above. The question of dating (1 Kings vi. 1), of course, may be raised, but this itself cannot be treated as evidence.—Yours,

JOHN ROBERT TOWERS.

The Vicarage,
Buxworth, Stockport.

DEAR SIR,—In the April issue of the Q.S. which is just at hand, I notice the brief report of Dr. Masterman's lecture on 'The Topography of some New Testament Sites.' With his conclusions in general, especially as to Cana, Capernaum, and Chorazim, there is no reason to quarrel, and what he says about Cana should be heavily underscored since Kefr Kenna is so convenient to the tourists that few consider Kh. Qana.

As to Bethsaida, a note is to be added. With Dr. Masterman's statement that a Bethsaida at et-Tabigha is both improbable and unnecessary, I thoroughly agree. I have argued that at length in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, X. (1930), pp. 31-58. However, that et-Tell is the site of Bethsaida has been disputed and seems to me impossible. Dr. Albright has visited the site with members of the American School of Oriental Research and found only bronze-age potsherds (B.A.S.O.R., February 29, 1928, p. 7). In the autumn of 1929, I spent some hours at et-Tell with a dozen members of the

School and we hunted over its entire surface without finding any evidence whatever of occupation during the Hellenistic or Roman period. On the contrary, on that visit I saw a bit of mosaic near the house at el-'Araj and, back of it where some digging had been done in order to make a roadway through the swamp, picked up a number of potsherds that were clearly of Roman date. Dalman in his *Orte und Wege Jesu* (1924, p. 173) speaks of stones and potsherds to the east of the building which indicate Roman occupation. Dalman, to be sure, supposes that the fortress and palace of Herod Philip must have been on et-Tell. Where these buildings and his tomb could have been located is as yet uncertain, but it is impossible that they should have been upon et-Tell. If a city or a village of later times were to be found in the neighbourhood, one might suppose as a bare possibility that all evidence of such buildings should have been removed down to the very ground, but, even so, there should have been some pottery remains in evidence. As matters stand, the archæological evidence points to the shore of the sea between the mouth of the Jordan and the lagoon about 850 metres east of it as the site of Bethsaida Julius, with the bare possibility that on some of the hills which are a mile and a half or two miles away there may have been a castle, palace and tomb.

—Yours sincerely, C. C. McCown.

Pacific School of Religion,
Berkeley, California.

May 16, 1935.

Reviews and Notices of Publications

STUDENTS of the Old Testament will long have been familiar with the very valuable series of monographs in German known as the *Beihefte*. The need of a similar series in English has now been met by the inauguration of *Old Testament Studies*, published under the auspices of the Society for Old Testament Studies by Messrs. T. and T. Clark. The first number of the new series has just appeared under the title of *The Ras Shamra Tablets, their Bearing on the Old Testament*, by the Rev. Dr. J. W. Jack. The importance of this material for the study of the Old Testament is well known, and Dr. Jack has rendered a real service to all Old Testament students by this excellent account of the contents of the Tablets and the light which they throw on the origins of Hebrew religion.

The monograph consists of fifty-four pages, dealing in six chapters with the nature and date of the Tablets, their linguistic characteristics, their mythological, ritual and historical significance, and the light which they throw on the Old Testament. The monograph also contains a map, a facsimile, transliteration and translation of one of the Tablets, and an appendix containing a list of divine names with references. The price is three shillings.

The Society is to be congratulated on this auspicious beginning of a series which will undoubtedly be of the utmost value to students of the Old Testament. Dr. Jack's contributions to the *Expository Times* and his books on Old Testament problems are well known to English readers, and his treatment of this important subject is fully worthy of his reputation.

The Nahr el-Kelb ("Dog River"). By RÉNÉ MONTERDE, J. S. Translated by C. B. HUGHES, S. J. 35 pp. 15 Illustrations. Beyrout: Imprimerie Catholique. 1934.

THIS little guide book is edited from documents and notes collected by Father Ronzevalle S. J., and the illustrations are

mainly by the author. It should prove a helpful and authoritative guide to travellers visiting the interesting historic monuments grouped at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb. While "Dog River" is now a familiar name, the terms "Cape Dog" and "Caves of the Dog" are hardly an improvement on the Arabic names. E. W. G. M.

Sacred Sites and Ways. Studies in the topography of the Gospels. By Gustaf Dalman, D.D. *Authorised Translation* by P. P. Levertoff, D.D. P. 397. Twenty-seven Illustrations and Maps. London: S.P.C.K., 1935. 12*s.* 6*d.*

THIS translation of Dr. Dalman's *Orte und Wege Jesu* has been made from the third German edition with additions and notes, by the author, and the translator. It will be a welcome volume to all serious students of the Gospels. It is an almost "indispensable" book to all those who wish for a knowledge of the bearing of Jewish and early Christian writing upon the claim of New Testament sites to genuineness; the references are not confined to Gospel sites. Interspersed with topographical discussions are pleasant references to personal travels. It is unfortunate that the somewhat unique illustrations which occur in the German edition are here omitted. For a book published this year it is to be regretted that no reference is made to the extensive mosaics discovered recently in the Church of the Nativity, as this discovery has a considerable bearing on the date of the existing building. There are chapters devoted to Nazareth, Cana and the cities around the lake of Galilee. To me the idea that Tarachæa could have been where *el mejdel* now stands, seems quite impossible. The most important travel routes through the land are discussed. The importance of the route from Nablus to Tiberias *viâ* Tubaz, where there are numerous Roman milestones, is not I think sufficiently stressed. The latter half of the volume discusses sites in and around Jerusalem. In view of Dr. Hollis's recent book it is difficult to agree with Dalman's view that the Altar of burnt offering

stood upon *es Sahrah* and in spite of the attractiveness of the view that the second wall excluded the site of the Holy Sepulchre Church, the recent finding of such extensive remains of what would certainly appear to be the third wall of Herod Agrippa II, is a serious difficulty.

The question of transliteration of Arabic presents a problem. The Arabic ' Ain for spring is in parts of the volume written ' En. Kubeibeh—or as the Government map gives it, Qubeiba—here appears as Ikbebe, the familiar Tabgha as Tabera and Burj as Burdsch. And so on. For English readers, unfamiliar with Arabic, it must be very puzzling.

Considerable obscurity occurs through the translator using " well " for " spring " in many passages (pp. 89, 90, 131, 133, 156, 162, 163 etc.). The English reader will hardly recognise the *Ain el Harameyeh*, the well-known " Robber's fountain " under the term " Highwayman wells " (p. 216). In two passages Asphodel is translated " daffodils," a flower unknown in Palestine (pp. 157, 245). It is not clear what is meant (p. 182) by " a velocity of wind at 7 " or a wall " a height of 15 degrees " (p. 376). I think it should be feet. In page 180, the Jordan should be described as flowing out of, not flowing into the lake. On page 277 the translation should be " by an angle " and not " at the corners " which is meaningless. Other expressions which must puzzle English readers are " wheel of the ground " (p. 267) ; " widely protecting arch " (p. 375) ; " Vertex (of a church) (p. 325) ; " blocked up " (p. 368), for " covered over " ; " shore " (of the Pool of Hezekiah) (p. 336), should be " edge " ; " Old hatchways " (p. 341) should be " passages with steps." On page 182, " stem " should be the " bow " of the boat.

The maps and plans provided are most helpful, and the index is most complete. The English form of binding is in every way an improvement on the paper cover of the German edition.

E. W. G. M.

Judas Maccabœus, the Hammer of God. By ALBERT M. HYAMSON.

THE author of that very readable " History of the Jews in England " (1928) gives us here a charming, if somewhat sketchy,

account of the life and times of a great Jewish hero. Very truly does he write that " Judas was fighting for a cause in which he believed with the whole of his being. It was all-embracing. Outside of it there was no room in his faith. For him there was but one rule of conduct, one road to follow, at the end of which was the worship of the one true God. No doubt or hesitation could enter his mind. His faith may have been a simple one, but it was all-embracing. He was struggling for liberty to worship the one true God, beside which no other desire existed." These last words Mr. Hyamson wisely modifies by showing that, in fact, another desire did exist; in the first instance, certainly, it was not there; but the extraordinary successes which the genius of Judas Maccabæus had achieved, generated the further desire to attain political independence. This resulted in the death of Judas, though to some extent his ideal was reached. It was left to his successors, Jonathan and Simon, especially the latter, to obtain complete political independence. All this is simply, but graphically, told by the author; nor does he fail to point out that this was not in the best interests of the Jews. The chronological table stands in need of revision; most of the dates are wrong; we would refer Mr. Hyamson to the masterly study of Kolbe, *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte* (1926).

Prehistoric Assyria. The Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933. By M. E. L. Mallowan and J. Cruickshank Rose. Humphrey Milford. The Oxford University Press. xv., 178 pp. 21*s*. 1935.

The results of Mr. Mallowan's first season's work at Tall Arpachiyah have surpassed expectations. Their importance is admirably set forth in this report, which for fulness, clarity, lucidity of exposition and scientific arrangement, is a model of what such a report should be. The excellence of the printing and the reproduction of the illustrations, especially of the magnificent coloured reproductions of the lovely pottery of the

Tall Halaf period, are worthy of the reputation of the Oxford Press.

The most important result of the expedition may be summed up in the statement that it has established beyond possibility of question, the correlation of the pottery of Tall Halaf, Samarra, Tall Al ' Ubaid, Susa and the Indus Valley civilisation, with links extending into China.

The excavation of the mound at Arpachiyah was undertaken as the result of Dr. Campbell Thompson's researches at Quyunjik in 1932. He was the first to call attention to the ancient Tepe at Arpachiyah, and Mr. Mallowan's expedition was undertaken in the hope of obtaining results which the enormous size of the mound at Quyunjik rendered difficult without prohibitive expenditure of time and money. Mr. Mallowan's results have fully justified this hope.

The site of Arpachiyah is less than four miles from the Tigris and the ancient city of Nineveh, with which it was evidently closely connected in antiquity. It seems to have been a peaceful unwalled town, engaged principally in the pottery industry, and in case of attack its inhabitants would have taken refuge within the fortifications of Nineveh.

It is the very insignificance of the town that has preserved its treasures intact through a period of some six thousand years since the days of its final abandonment.

During the first season's operations ten superimposed building levels were excavated. The finds have been divided by the excavator into two main groups. The five upper layers he assigns to the Tall Al 'Ubaid period of southern Babylonia. The five lower layers show affinities in their pottery to that of Tall Halaf, on the river Habur in Syria, excavated by Baron von Oppenheim. Associated with this pottery, though in a very small proportion, were examples of Samarra ware.

Soundings indicate that at least five more occupation levels may be expected. Mr. Mallowan's estimate of the chronology of the site assigns the last period of occupation at Arpachiyah to the upper half of the fourth millennium B.C., while the be-

ginnings of Arpachiyah may go back to before 4,000 B.C. These results are of interest as bearing on von Oppenheim's dating of his finds at Tall Halaf.

The most interesting architectural feature of the discoveries at Arpachiyah was the remains of ten buildings of the *tholos* type, belonging to the Tall Halaf levels. These *tholoi* represent the earliest known examples of domical construction in Mesopotamia. Their ground plan at once suggests affinities with the Mycenæan *tholos*, and the Aegean rock-cut tombs, especially with the curious Sardinian *nuraghi*. An interesting problem in culture distribution is raised by this discovery. Mr. Mallowan's valuable discussion of it is to be found on pages 25-34 of this book. It might be permitted to raise the question with regard to the steatite amulet represented in figure 15, page 31, whether this may be intended to depict a tent of the Arab type rather than a gabled building.

Another very interesting feature in the book is Mr. Mallowan's discussion of the development of the *bukranium* design as a decorative motive. Here again connections with Crete are suggested. Three other Cretan connections call for remark : "In Crete the 'mother-goddess,' the dove, and the double axe are among the most important cult objects in the Cretan ritual. It is therefore very important to have discovered these three elements associated with one another at so early a period in north Mesopotamia. Many years ago, Sir Arthur Evans suggested that the double axe entered Crete from somewhere in eastern Asia. These examples are all presumably considerably earlier than anything of the kind in Crete, and Sir Arthur Evans' prophecy therefore finds a remarkable fulfilment many years after the making of it." All these elements are represented at Tall Halaf.

There are many other interesting features of the discoveries which call for discussion, but space will not allow of more. One further suggestion may be made. Mr. Mallowan points out that many of the beads show the presence of a shallow longitudinal groove, and suggests that this may have been intended to

receive a coloured thread. It is not impossible that such beads may have had a ritual use. In the apotropaic ritual for a pregnant woman given by Ebeling in his *Aus dem Tagewerk eines assyrischen Priester*, certain small objects of uncertain character are tied into a red cord and cut off one by one during the days of the dangerous period of her pregnancy, with appropriate incantations. It may be that the beads described by Mr. Mallowan had some such magical use.

The book will of course be indispensable for all students of the civilisation of the ancient East, and further results from the earlier layers will be eagerly awaited.

The Prophets and Israel's Culture. By WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM; Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature in the University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. xiv. 117 pp.

THIS little book is, apparently, the first of a series entitled *Handbooks of Ethics and Religion*, issued by the University of Chicago, a series to which we heartily wish every success. In the foreword to the series the Editors state that "the various authors do not undertake to embody in any detail the processes which lie back of their conclusions." This statement, at the outset, disarms certain criticisms which the present reviewer would otherwise feel bound to make, since the author is evidently prevented by the scope of the series and its aims, from giving the reader some idea of the fundamental facts which underlie his conclusions.

It is not that the present writer disagrees with the conclusions or the general point of view so strikingly set forth by Dr. Graham, for in the main he is in complete sympathy with the author's attitude to the prophets of Israel, in spite of occasional doubts in matters of detail.

The real trouble is that Dr. Graham's conclusions about the prophets rest upon a reconstruction of the early history of the religion of Israel which differs considerably from that generally held, even by most well-informed students of the Old Testament,

and which is only known within a small circle at present. Hence a great deal of his argument and many of his illustrations will not be intelligible to the general reader. There is a gap between the first chapter on *The World and its Way*, where the author gives an excellent picture in broad outlines of the religious pattern of the ancient world, and the second chapter, entitled *Israel in the Way of the World*. The general reader will expect somewhere in this panorama of world history to find a definite picture of what the Hebrews were doing in the matter of religion in the ninth century B.C. He needs, in order to understand Dr. Graham's admirable account of the activities and ideals of the great prophets, a clear account, supported by Old Testament evidence, of what Dr. Graham calls the " institutionalism " against which the protests of the prophets were directed.

Whenever Dr. Graham illustrates his points, as for instance on page 37, where he explains Isaiah's famous pun in the Vineyard Song, he is so illuminating, that the ordinary reader, unfamiliar with the conceptions underlying the author's exposition, would gladly exchange much of the generalisation with which the book abounds for some of this wholly admirable illustrative material.

But it is unreasonable in view of the limitations mentioned, above, to ask for a different book from that which the author has given us. We can only express the hope that he will later on give us the book which he is clearly qualified to write, both by knowledge and by enthusiasm. The present book may mystify some readers, but it cannot fail to impress all serious students of the Old Testament by its obvious sincerity and by its wide grasp of the problems of the Ancient World.

A Manual of Excavation in the Near East. By WILLIAM FREDERIC BADE, Director of the Palestine Institute of Archæology, Berkeley, California. University of California Press. 81 pp. 7*s*. For Great Britain and Ireland, the Cambridge University Press.

THIS little book is the work of an experienced excavator in

varied fields. His name will be familiar to readers of the QUARTERLY STATEMENT. It bears throughout the impress of a trained and logical mind, and should be of the greatest value to students who are intending to enter the ever-widening field of practical archæology. But it will also prove most interesting to the general reader who is attempting to follow the progress of modern archæological enterprise. The book is written in a clear and attractive style, and is free from the jargon which specialists are too often inclined to affect. The illustrations are excellent and most instructive.

The author raises the question on page 48, of the adequacy of the methods which are being employed at Ras Shamra for the discovery and preservation of small artifacts. This is disquieting, in view of the outstanding importance of the site. From the full accounts given in *Syria*, since the beginning of the operations at Ras Shamra, the impression is received of the most careful and scientific handling of the material, but no doubt the Director will reassure the public with regard to the matter. S. H. H.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

Owing to the large amount of important material demanding publication in this issue of the QUARTERLY STATEMENT, the space usually given to Notes and News is somewhat curtailed, as well as that devoted to Reviews and Notices. Several reviews of noteworthy books and Annuals are therefore unavoidably held over until the January issue.

Mr. Starkey's discoveries at Tell Duweir, the ancient Lachish, have been the centre of public interest this summer. The exhibition of the recently discovered material held at the Wellcome Research Institution in the Euston Road was largely attended. The now famous Lachish Letters were the special focus of interest. It is expected that Professor Torczyner's transcription and translation of this most valuable material will shortly be published.

The Egypt Exploration Society's Exhibition of Recent Work was opened at 2 Hinde Street on September 16 and closes October 12. Relief sculptures, inlaid plaques, statuettes and other objects from the Palace of Akhenaten at Tell el Amarna, with illustrative drawings and photographs, form a most interesting exhibition which has been well attended.

One of the interesting discoveries made by Sir Leonard Woolley at Ur is that the quadruped figuring on various Sumerian mosaics and sculptures as a draught animal is the domesticated Asiatic dziggetai or onager. Dr. Max Hilzheimer, in a recent issue of *Antiquity*, has maintained that all the bones of draught

animals found in another Mesopotamian cemetery are those of the onager. At this date the Egyptians, judging from pictorial evidence, knew only the ass, and used it solely as a beast of burden. The horse, introduced by the Hittites into Anatolia, did not reach Mesopotamia and Egypt for another millennium. It is a significant fact that the Akkadian ideogram for the horse means " the ass of the mountains."

Sir Charles Marston's motion in the recent session of the Church Assembly deserves honourable notice, although it was not carried in the form in which he put it. He moved on the motion to authorise the Central Board of Finance to expend in 1936 a sum not exceeding £145,000, that £100 be allocated " for the encouragement of Biblical Archæological Research." The gesture was a timely one. Those who are engaged in teaching the Old Testament know how slight is the extent to which the present generation are aware of the new light thrown by Archæology on the records of the Old Testament.

In this connection, those who are interested in this subject may be glad to be reminded that a course of 24 lectures on the ' Archæological Background of the Old Testament ' will be given at King's College, London, by Professor S. H. Hooke, beginning on Thursday, October 3, at 6.30 p.m. Syllabuses of the course may be obtained from the University Extension Registrar, University of London, South Kensington. The lectures are fully illustrated by lantern slides.

P.E.F. Winter Lantern Lectures.—At the time of going to press, the following lectures had been arranged :

Thursday, Dec. 5.—A Journalist Among Archæologists. By the Rev. C. B. Mortlock.

Thursday, Jan. 2.—The Walls of Jerusalem. By Prof. A. C. Dickie.

Admission to these lectures which take place at 5 p.m. in the Fund's lecture room at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is free, and open to all interested.

The Wilderness of Zin. Attention is drawn to the announcement which appears inside the front cover of this number.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Antiquaries Journal, XV, 3. Review of V. Gordon Childe : New Light on the Most Ancient East.

Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, the University of Liverpool, XXII, 1-2. Babylonian Prophylactic Figures and their Ritual, by O. R. Gurney.

The Expository Times, Aug.-Sept., 1935. The Lachish Letters, by Sir Charles Marston (August). Recent Biblical Archæology, by J. W. Jack.

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LXV, 1.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 51, 4.

The Near East and India, July-Sept., 1935.

New Judea, July-Sept., 1935.

The American Journal of Philology, LVI, 3.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, XXX, 7-8. A Group of Egyptian Antiquities, by Marshall Davidson.

Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology, IV, 1.

The Geographical Review, July, 1935.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, XXVI, 1. A Family of Illuminators in the Time of the Second Temple, by P. Romanoff.

The Journal of the American Oriental Society, 55, 2. Review of Sir Leonard Woolley, Ur Excavations, Vol. II : The Royal Cemetery, by V. Müller.

Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, 1934, 2.

Le Monde Oriental, Vols. XXVI-XXVII.

Nouvelle Revue Théologique, June, 1935. Recherches archéologiques récentes, by H. Drerup, W. Derouaux, J. Lévie, É. de Moreau and Ch. Martin.

Revue Biblique, July, 1935. Chronique—A travers les fouilles palestiniennes, by L. H. Vincent.

Syria, XVI, 2. Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra. Sixiême campagne, by C. F.-A. Schaeffer. Also articles on various aspects of the discoveries at Ras Shamra by R. Dussaud, Fr. Thureau-Dangin, C. Virolleaud and E. Dhorme.

Archiv für Orientforschung, X, 3. D. Winton Thomas, A Note on the Hebrew Text of Judges, 16, 20. Review of Max Löhr, Das Asylwesen im Alten Testament, by C. Kuhl.

Litterae Orientales, July, 1935.

Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. athenische Abteilung, Bd. 58, 1935.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, July-Sept., 1935. Reviews of : A. Sarisalo, New Kirkuk Documents relating to Slaves, by W. von Soden ; (July) : F. Delougaz, The Treatment of Clay Tablets in the Field, by K. Brittner ; G. Furlani, Il poema della creazione (Enuma eliš), by W. von Soden ; A. Mallon, R. Koeppel, and R. Neuville, Teleilat Ghassul, by P. Thomsen. Notes on Ras Shamra Texts, by T. H. Gaster.

Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 12, 1. Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra, by H. Bauer. Neue Zeugnisse fur die Ausspräche des Tetragramms als Jahwe, by O. Eissfeldt.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 58, 1-2. Aus der Araba, by A. Alt. Die westliche Linie des Meerweges, by B. Maisler. Zeitschriftenschau, by P. Thomsen.

Biblica, 16, 2. Teleilat Ghassul in Jordantale, by R. Köppel.

Al Mashrik, xxxiii, 2.

Bible Lands, July, 1935.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, II, 3-4 III, 1.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, April, 1935

Survey of Palestine : Maps and Publications, from the Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, Palestine.

Meteorological Reports from the Department of Agriculture and Forests, Palestine.

The B.B.C. Annual, 1935.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

SEVENTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE SEVENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING of the Fund was held at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1., on Thursday, June 27, 1935, when The Dean of Norwich (The Very Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, D.D.) presided and Mr. Colin Baly lectured on the Excavations at Isbeita by the Colt Expedition of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem; the lecture was followed by some remarks by Dr. Harry Torcyzner (Bialik Professor of Hebrew Philology, the University of Jerusalem) on the Lachish Letters found at Tell Duweir.

Minutes.

The Hon. Secretary (Dr. E. W. G. Masterman) read the Minutes of the Sixty-ninth Annual General Meeting held on June 26, 1934, which were confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

Apologies.

Apologies regretting inability to be present were received from the Bishop of Rochester, Sir George Adam Smith, Professor J. Garstang, Professor Stanley A. Cook, Brigadier-General Stewart of Coll, and Dr. Cecil Curwen.

Obituary.

The Hon. Secretary said it was with regret that he had to announce the death of two eminent members of the Society, Professor Beresford Pite, long interested in architecture in Palestine, and the well-known Colonel T. E. Lawrence.

The Chairman: I am sure you will not expect me to say anything about Colonel Lawrence because Colonel Newcombe, who knew him, will add a few words later, but we all lament the loss we have sustained. I should, however, like to add one personal word with regard to Professor Beresford Pite, an old and intimate friend of mine, interested especially in medieval and renaissance architecture and, as you know, he was for long a member of this Society and took great interest in it.

Full Membership.

The Hon. Secretary reported that nine Subscribers had qualified for Full Membership during the past year.

He next took the opportunity of calling attention to the sketches made by Mr. James Clark and said that Mr. Clark had spent seven years in Palestine making sketches used for illustration of parts of the Bible. He had generously presented the originals to the Fund, and, on behalf of the Committee, Dr. Masterman expressed appreciation of the gift which would be greatly treasured.

Annual Report and Accounts.

Sir Charles Close (Chairman of the Executive Committee), in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1934, as circulated, said:

Dr. Cranage, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honour to propose the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1934. These have been circulated to subscribers, and I have no doubt that you would desire that they should be taken as read.

Five days ago the Fund completed seventy years of existence, the foundation meeting having been held in Willis's Rooms on June 22, 1865, under the presidency of the Archbishop of York. The three rules which the Archbishop then laid down for the guidance of the Society have never been departed from, and the main objects of the Fund have been steadily borne in mind. We may, I think, look back with great satisfaction on the work of our predecessors, and we shall strive to follow their excellent example.

We have received a notification that the late Mr. Cecil White, of Edinburgh, a life member of the Fund, bequeathed to the Fund the sum of £500. The legacy is particularly valuable at this juncture, as it will enable us to pay off a considerable part of our remaining debt, incurred in re-conditioning our house. It would be pleasant if we could associate Mr. White's name with the library, or with some other part of our improved building.

Mr. James Clark, R.I., has most kindly given to the Fund a collection of some forty sketches in oil and water-colour, painted by him a good many years ago, and valuable on this account and also for their artistic merit. These sketches will be found exhibited in the adjoining room. We are grateful to Mr. Clark for his welcome gift.

We have to report that Mr. A. M. Hyamson has very kindly rearranged the books in the Library and has devoted a good deal of time to this work and to the necessary alteration in the card-index. We also desire to thank Miss M. E. Russell for her work in connection with our store of pamphlets and periodicals, and Miss Peel-Mears for her work of restoring broken pottery.

As you will see in the Annual Report we have lent our rooms during the past year for three exhibitions; we expect to lend them in the autumn of this year, to the Egypt Exploration Society, for a similar purpose. Ten lectures were given in these rooms during the past winter season, and these were well attended. We owe our very sincere thanks to those who gave the lectures, Dr. Masterman, Colonel Newcombe, Sir Frederic Kenyon, Mr. Sidney Smith, Professor Hooke, Professor Myres, Sir George Hill, Mr. Starkey and the Rev. Dr. Hollis.

The excavation of Samaria was continued under Mr. Crowfoot's direction at the beginning of last April. This excavation is now being brought to a close. Steps will be taken to publish the results in a Memoir which will probably appear during 1936.

Now, with regard to the future, as the representative of the Fund and also of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, I visited Palestine in February and March last, chiefly with a view to discussing the question of the proposed Archæological Survey, with the eminent authorities on the spot. I found complete agreement as to the desirability of the proposed Survey, and had some very useful talks and received many helpful suggestions. Since my return home we have had a meeting of the Joint Advisory Council of the two Societies, under the Chairmanship of the Bishop of Rochester, and, as instructed by this Council, Sir Frederic Kenyon and I visited the Colonial

Office and have submitted to that office a memorandum on the subject. The project is now under consideration, but it is too early yet to make any further statement on the matter.

I beg to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts for 1934.

Colonel S. F. Newcome (Hon. Treasurer), in seconding the motion, added: I have been asked to say a few words in regard to Lawrence. When I first met him I was surveying in South Palestine. The Palestine Exploration Fund sent out two archæologists. I was younger then than I am now, and expected to meet two rather eminent and somewhat elderly people. Arriving in Beersheba I found Leonard Woolley and Lawrence. who looked about twenty-four years of age and eighteen respectively, though both were some six years older. It gave me rather a shock to find such young people taking on the job. However, I soon found they were very much alive indeed, and we spent the next few days together, in which time they told me all the biblical and archæological history of the southern desert. I had read many books on the area but they were much out of date and based on supposition and theory; hence it was a great relief to talk on the spot with two people who had very sound ideas on archæology, and they gave me a very reasonable idea of what had happened. And it was intensely interesting for us because we were working in the country with people who were probably wearing the same kind of clothes and eating about the same kind of food—and that is not much, anyway—and going without washing and water much as the Israelites had done.

Then Lawrence joined me down at Akaba and was annoyed with me because I was far too disciplined; he did not want to conform to the orders I was receiving as regards the Turkish governor of Akaba. However, he showed his unconventional spirit, as he always did, and was taken charge of by a Turkish police officer, to be escorted out of that province. He gave him the slip in about six hours and went off on his own, riding about one hundred miles with his servant to Petra, through quite unknown country, as it was then.

Lawrence's further history is another matter, but that part of his history in South Palestine is little known, though Lawrence has written about it in the *Wilderness of Zin.*

I happen to have an interesting letter which you might like to hear. It is from Lawrence to Captain Liddell Hart, the author of *T. E Lawrence in Arabia.*

COPY 26. 6. 33.

Dear L. H.

You talk of a summing up to come. Will you (if you agree with my feeling) in it strike a blow for hard work and thinking ? I was not an instinctive soldier, automatic with intuitions and happy ideas. When I took a decision, or adopted an alternative it was after studying every relevant—and many an irrelevant —factor. Geography, tribal structure, religion, social customs, language, appetites, standards, all were at my finger-ends. The enemy I knew almost like my own side. I risked myself among them a hundred times, to *learn.*

The same with tactics. If I used a weapon well, it was because I could handle it. Rifles were easy. I put myself under instruction for Lewis, Vickers and Hotchkiss (Vickers in my O.T.C. days, and rifles, and pistols). If you look at my articles in the *Pickaxe* you will see how much I learned about explosives, from my R.E. teachers, and how far I developed their methods. To use aircraft I learned to fly. To use armoured cars I learned to drive and fight them. I became a gunner at need, and could doctor and judge a camel.

The same with strategy. I have written only a few pages on the art of war—but in these I levy contribution from my predecessors of five languages. You are one of the few living Englishmen who can see the allusions and quotations, the conscious analogies, in all I say and do, militarily.

Do make it clear that generalship, at least in my case, came of understanding, of hard study and brain-work and concentration. Had it come easy to me I should not have done it so well.

If your book could persuade some of our new soldiers to read and mark and learn things outside drill manuals, and tactical diagrams, it would do a good work. I feel a fundamental crippling incuriousness about our officers. Too much body and too little head. The perfect general would know everything in heaven and earth.

So please, if you see me that way and agree with me, do use me as a text to preach for more study of books and history, a greater seriousness in military art. With 2,000 years of examples behind us we have no excuse, when fighting, for not fighting well.

Yours,

T. E. S.

That letter refers to military history, which can be applied to a great many other things Lawrence did, archæology, literature or anything else.

The Report and Accounts were then unanimously adopted.

Election of Executive Committee.

On the motion of Mr. J. L. Starkey, seconded by Mr. G. L. Harding, the Executive Committee was re-elected as at present constituted, with the addition of the name of the Rev. C. B. Mortlock.

Election of Auditors.

On the motion of Sir Charles Close, seconded by Colonel S. F. Newcombe, Messrs. Turquand, Youngs & Co., were re-elected as Auditors for the ensuing year.

The Chairman : I note that the next item on the Agenda is an address by myself. I fear some may regard it as rather an impertinence that I should be here to give an address and certainly to take the Chair, because, as Sir Charles Close knows, I have lately been with him to Palestine, and it was my first visit. This does not mean that my interest in the country began there, for I may tell you that it has been a life-long interest to me, and mainly for this reason ; that my father, who was one of the earliest members of the Palestine Exploration

Fund, went to Palestine three times and told me in my childhood, and later too, so very much about the country that the whole thing seemed quite familiar to me, in fact far more familiar than many of the countries one reads about as a schoolboy.

My father went to Palestine first of all in the year 1876, then in 1880 and again in 1881, and a remark of his I had specially in mind as I approached Jerusalem was that made to me in 1882, when my father said: "The first time I went to Palestine I could see only two buildings outside the walls, the Russian Hospice and the row of almshouses built by Sir Moses Montefiore." There may have been a few more, but that was all he could see. The third time my father went to Palestine, only five years later, Jerusalem outside the walls was larger than Jerusalem inside. That brought home to one the tremendous development of the country even in those days more than fifty years ago; and you all know that that development has greatly increased during the last few years, so much so that many people said to me: "Don't go to Palestine. You will be much disappointed, the whole place is modernised." I am thankful to say that I did not have that feeling at all. I wrote off, as it were, all the new suburban parts of Jerusalem. I knew they were there, but I did not take much notice of them. But it was the greatest joy, and all who have been to Jerusalem will agree with me, to find that the old city was much the same as it had always been and that the people, as Colonel Newcombe remarked of another part, were living the old life. One could imagine oneself back in the Middle Ages or, for that matter, earlier still.

Palestine in those days differed in some respects, of course, from Palestine today. I remember my father telling me of the very careful steps that had to be taken against backsheesh, blackmail one might call it, on the part of the tribes who haunted the path between Jerusalem and Jericho and the Dead Sea. One was almost glad to hear Mr. H. V. Morton say, with one's romantic ideas about the past, that only last year a body of English people were stopped on that road and robbed. All

the same, I was thankful as it got dusk and we were approaching Jericho to find various mounted policemen, because I did not want to have the experience of being robbed.

Then in those early days there was only one road, that between Jaffa and Jerusalem; and of course there were no railways. Everywhere else my father had to go on horseback, and he thought—and this carries one back a long way—as many people thought sixty years ago, that there was a curse on the Holy Land, and that the country never could be developed; it never could once more rejoice and blossom as the rose. But we know now that there has been the most extraordinary development. Surely we all must have been thrilled by the announcement of the Jubilee gift to King George V. of the forest that the Jewish inhabitants and the Jewish people in various parts of the world are to present as their offering in this celebrated year.

May I add one word more of a personal nature about my father? As far as I can tell, he was the first man who ever brought Jaffa oranges to England. He brought away 200 oranges, one hundred of which were bad by the time they reached England; the other hundred were the most delicious oranges imaginable. I ate a good many and they were something so utterly different and beyond anything I had ever known of oranges before, that you can imagine they made a great impression on a boy's mind.

In those days also, as you know, there had been a great deal of valuable scientific exploration of the country, and now things have developed to an extraordinary degree. I think some people regard the picture on the cover of the JOURNAL of the Palestine Exploration Fund as a rather old-fashioned thing, but anyone who has not studied the subject before has brought home to them there, in a very powerful way, the tremendous distance that it is necessary to go down in order to come to the early city of Jerusalem, and I cannot help feeling that that is of real propagandist value when you are trying to interest people in the country.

The publications from that day to this you know much

better than I do. I had the opportunity of very careful study of Sir Charles Wilson's book on the Holy Sepulchre, and of your Honorary Secretary's book on the Lake of Galilee. These two and the many other volumes that have been issued are of the greatest value to the antiquary and, indeed, even to the casual visitor.

I used to see models which my father made of various parts of Palestine, and they brought home to me, for instance, Ebal, Gerizim and Nablus, and all that district seemed quite familiar because of the models one had seen illustrating the condition of the land.

My own personal interest, I confess, is mainly in the churches of the country and the early synagogues. No doubt some here have made very special study, as Dr. Masterman has, of the synagogues. I could hope myself that the synagogue one sees at Tell Hum, is either the actual synagogue or, at any rate, on the site of the synagogue that we read of in the Gospels, which was built by the centurion. But I believe that expert Jewish opinion is inclined to think that there is no synagogue earlier than the third or fourth century. And then the early churches. Only a very short time before we were at Bethlehem the mosaic pavement was discovered some feet below the present level. Those columns in the church of the Nativity have generally been supposed to be of the time of Constantine, but I think it must be clear now when one sees the earlier mosaic pavement some feet lower down, that the columns have been re-constructed.

I suppose we all feel now a very special responsibility for the country. One used to hear tales, many of them only too true, of the misgovernment and decay and destruction under Turkish rule, and now we all feel, do we not, that as we are the mandated power it is up to us, to use a vulgar expression, to do all we possibly can to preserve and to illustrate by excavation the history of the past. I am sure you will all have been greatly interested in the announcement that Sir Charles Close has made, that the various societies, universities, and so on, which take a keen interest in the work are hoping to unite for a new and complete archæological survey. This, I feel you will all agree

with me, is a very important announcement ; one feels that a new era in Palestine exploration is about to begin when there is to be this cooperation between so many. We have several represented here today. We have Sir Charles Marston who has done so much for excavation on the site of Jericho. If all these different bodies unite, surely a great result will be produced.

Another direction in which there has been wonderful improvement lately is the health of the country. One sad task I had to undertake when in Jerusalem was to visit, and see that it was being properly kept up, the tomb of a very dear friend who died of typhoid fever in Jerusalem and is buried in the English cemetery there. My own father very nearly lost his life by catching the same fever. That I would not say is a thing of the past, but the improvement is so great that I suppose there is no more danger in visiting Palestine than many another country.

We feel, do we not, that the Palestine Exploration Fund has in the past attracted a great many eminent men, sometimes in their early youth. We have had mentioned Colonel Lawrence and Sir Leonard Woolley, and, of course, one may add the name of Herbert Kitchener and many another. It has been the apprentice ground for important work not only of archæological but of national importance and, looking back over the past seventy years, I am sure we can echo the words of Sir Charles Close when he expressed satisfaction and pride that so much has been done.

It would, obviously, be absurd for me to take up more of your time when we have experts here who are going to address us. I now have very much pleasure in asking Mr. Colin Baly to lecture to us on the Excavations of Esbeita.

Excavations at Esbeita

Mr. Colin Baly then delivered his lecture (see p. 171)

The Chairman : I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, we have all been greatly interested. I honestly confess that I found the paper more than twice as interesting as I expected. It was full of all sorts of points on which one would like futher information. All who have studied the form of early churches realise the tremendous importance of any that may be found in Palestine,

One always has a hope, which is dashed to the ground again and again, that there may be a church found, or the remains of a church, before the time of Constantine. We know, of course, that in the early centuries the Christians were a persecuted sect, but there is evidence to show that they did build churches of some importance, though so far nothing has ever been found before those early fourth century churches. What you have seen were rather later but none the less interesting. I was particularly struck by the triapsidal plan, and especially by the little extra apse in the middle of the main apse, which is by no means a common feature.

I wonder whether Mr. Baly could tell us anything about those stable arches. They appeared to me in the picture to be definitely of double curvature.

Mr. Colin Baly: That photograph is a little distorted. It was a single curvature arch.

The Chairman: I was also much interested in the baths. It seems to me that the evidence of the monastery at Esbeita is more complete than we get in the West. We know what the bath house at Canterbury was like in the twelfth century, but we also know that baths were not readily allowed to the monks in the West. The rule of St. Benedict says they are all very well for the sick, but they should not be readily allowed to those who are not sick. It appears that in a semi-tropical country that rule was somewhat relaxed. I do not know whether there is any evidence as to whether the monks at Esbeita followed the Benedictine rule or the rule of St. Basil, or some oriental rule.

There is a good deal of evidence as to the form of a western monastery, and the monastery around the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which was carefully studied by Mr. A. W. Clapham just at the end of the war, is more or less of the western normal type; but as far as one could see from the pictures shown us by Mr. Baly there was no such planning of the monastery at Esbeita. I imagine, therefore, that that monastery was more of the oriental than the Western type, which we should naturally expect.

Some of the pictures of capitals interested me greatly, for only recently in Hampshire I saw some decoration almost

exactly the same. We all know that what we call Norman capitals have features about them which are paralleled in countries much farther east, and a friend of mine years ago asked me to send him any evidence I could obtain about some of the ornament used in twelfth-century work, as to whether it came from countries further east. So evidently here at quite an early date there are some of the features which we in England associate with Norman architecture.

Now we are to have the great pleasure of listening to Professor Torczyner, one of the professors of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. Those who have visited the University there will know what a magnificent building it is and on what a magnificent site it is; also what splendid work is being done there. I now call upon Professor Torczyner.

The Lachish Letters found at Tell Duweir.

Professor H. Torczyner (Bialik Professor of Hebrew Philology, The University, Jerusalem) then addressed the meeting.

(An article on the Lachish Letters will appear in the January issue of the *Quarterly Statement*)

Vote of Thanks.

Sir Charles Marston had the greatest pleasure in proposing a most hearty vote of thanks to the Dean of Norwich for presiding and for his interesting address; also to Mr. Colin Baly and Professor Torczyner for their contributions. All present had enjoyed the lecture and would wish Mr. Colt every possible success.

The few remarks made by Professor Torczyner were sufficient to make all present wish to know more. It was probably true to say that the writings that had been discovered represented the greatest discovery in biblical archæology. It would have been the easiest thing in the world to miss those seventeen fragments amongst the thousands of pieces of broken pottery strewn on the ruined sites. Their discovery, seeing that they were not only broken but covered with ashes, spoke highly for the wonderful way in which the excavations were being conducted by Mr. Starkey and his band of youthful workers.

The vote of thanks having been accorded amid hearty applause, the proceedings terminated.

S'baita

By Colin Baly

To the south of the Judean Hills lies a barren inhospitable land now known as "The Negeb," but better known to the readers of the Bible by its older name of "The Wilderness of Zin," and in the midst of this area lies S'baita, thirty-five miles south-east of Beersheba. This wilderness is desert enough to-day, being inhabited but by a few Bedouin who wrest a meagre subsistence from an unwilling Nature; but in the first dozen centuries of our era an intensive cultivation made it one of the most productive areas in Palestine. During this period it supported a number of towns of which S'baita is the best preserved.

In 1933 Mr. H. Dunscombe Colt, Director of the Colt Archæological Expedition, having made several trips into the Negeb, selected S'baita as the most promising site and commenced excavation, working in connection with the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. Throughout the excavation of the last two seasons we have received much assistance from the Department of Antiquities and the illustrations to this article, apart from those of pottery, are reproduced by their courtesy. By this arrangement we have been able to avoid duplicating such photographs as the Department took for their records.

The previous history of the site in modern times can be briefly summarised. In the 1860's Palmer, on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, travelled through the Wilderness and visited S'baita of which he published a very good account. Musil followed in the first decade of this century and gave us the first photographs of the site, but it was not until Woolley and Lawrence, again working for the Palestine Exploration Fund, made their survey of the Wilderness, that a scientific study of S'baita was made. It was Woolley who visited the site on the

behalf of the expedition and, considering the fact that he was there only four days, his account and plans are really remarkable. In what follows I shall have occasion to contradict him flatly at times but this does not imply any lack of appreciation of his achievement. Such treatment of his work is, to use the words he applies to Palmer when treating his work in a like fashion, " the respect due to a worthy opponent." The German Denkmals-schutzkommando visited S'baita during the War and Wiegand published their results in 1920, but his account is chiefly remarkable for its air photographs and its extreme, though unjustifiable, contempt for Musil.

S'baita lies on the Northern slope of the Wadi Zayatîn, a tributary of the great Wadi al-Abyad, and curiously enough the first settlement of the site seems to have been on the lower slopes. Thus it seems clear that it was the possibilities of the Wadi for cultivation which attracted the settlers, for if it had been a military post as has been suggested, surely it would have been where possible attackers could be seen. The date of the first settlement is still uncertain, but it cannot have been later than the latter part of the first century A.D., and may have been earlier. Trenches in an ancient dump to the south of the town have produced Terra Sigillata and Nabatean pottery of the first-second century but unfortunately the dump was not stratified.

From then on settlement seems to have been continuous through Byzantine times, when the prosperity of the town was at its height, until the twelfth century or even later. Woolley has stated that the site could not have been occupied before Byzantine times and that it was clearly deserted after its destruction by the Arab Conquest. The first of these conclusions is an example of the danger of negative evidence when dealing with surface indications, but the second is a curious view. There is no surface evidence of destruction by a raiding party and though at a late period the inhabitants were, as he says, afraid of such raids and either blocked up or provided gates for all openings to the desert, this cannot be considered evidence that such raids ever took place. It is clear that the

barricades Woolley saw were either squatters' walls or modern water runnels. But his most extraordinary statement is that there is no evidence of change or rebuilding. Quite apart from the fact that there is, even on the surface, it is surely clear that a three hundred year occupation must have produced change and rebuilding by itself. Consider the change in an English country town between 1535 and 1835. Actually we have definite evidence from the pottery that there was a fairly big occupation up to the twelfth century and there are a few fragments of glazed ware dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth century. It is even clear that the Christian inhabitants were living much as usual after the conquest. In A.D. 640, six years after 'Amr's capture of Gaza, the floor of the South Church was relaid, and that floor shows signs of considerable use, while burials were being made in the North Church as late as 648. But the strongest evidence of all is that the ninth century mosque in the South Church Complex was made with as little disturbance of the church buildings proper as was possible.

The town has no orderly plan. The only idea visible is the radiation of certain streets from two large reservoirs which lie together at about the centre of the town ; everything goes to show a period of growth rather than a sudden efflorescence. The two reservoirs are clearly a very early feature of the town, though the northern is possibly slightly later than the southern.

The Expedition's work in the past two seasons has been as follows : In 1933-34 we cleared the North Church and most of the Monastery attached to it. In 1934-35 we examined the two reservoirs, cleared the South Church Complex, and one of the Bath Houses, and finished the North Church Monastery. In both seasons some street clearance was done and certain ancient dumps were trenched. Next season we hope to clear the Central Church as our chief work, so we shall be ready to publish our first volume on the town—the *Ecclesiastical Architecture*.

The North Church (Pl. I, Fig. 2, Pl. II, Fig. 1) lies on the desert edge, and is therefore probably the latest of the three. It is the most prominent building in the town and can be seen from a

considerable distance partly owing to the great batter-wall built around its outer sides ; this has preserved the walls to a considerable height and gives the church a plain, stark, appearance. The meaning of this wall is in doubt. Woolley comes to the conclusion that it was defensive and it is quite likely that this was so, though his view that the Church was intended to be a last stronghold is not very satisfactory, as the batter wall does not cover all sides. The alternative view is that it was intended purely as extra support for the walls ; there are similar walls in the town obviously for this purpose, but what thrust there was to counter in the church is not clear since the walls at present show a distinct curvature inwards.

Woolley describes the church as " of the usual tri-apsidal type," but what he means by this is not certain, for the tri-apsidal type of church is so extremely *un*-usual as to be almost unknown outside the Negeb at our date. I insist upon this as his remark appears to have led to misconceptions elsewhere. For instance a recent book on *Byzantine Art and Archæology* speaks of Palestine as " covered with tri-apsidal churches."

The plan consists of an Atrium partly surrounded by a colonnade, a Narthex and the church proper with a Baptistry and a Chapel opening from it.

In Plate I, Figure 2 it will be seen that the piers between the Narthex and the Atrium, though now square, have been built up around columns. The explanation of this is probably that in the original plan the church was entered directly from the Atrium, then the colonnade on the east side began to serve the purpose of a Narthex, and finally it was decided to construct a proper Narthex and to add an upper storey. At this time the columns were enclosed in piers to enable them to support extra weight, while part of the colonnade on the north side of the Atrium was given up to a flight of steps to the upper storey.

The Atrium was paved with limestone and contained some tombs with dated tombstones of the sixth-seventh centuries ; the paving behind the colonnade was of large white limestone tesserae. In the centre was a column drum surrounded by a

square raised kerb of limestone. This probably supported the Cantharus or an offering bowl.

The church proper must have been an impressive building in its day. The walls were originally covered with painted plaster but at a later date they were half panelled with marble over the plaster while the floor, possibly at the same time, was wholly paved with marble. The Bema, Prothesis, and Diakonikon, which were railed off with marble cancelli, were raised above the nave and aisles, the steps being faced with marble.

Above the aisles were triforia with columned arcading; this was clear from the number of column drums, too small for the main arcades, which were found throughout the church. Such triforia would be needed for access to certain rooms above the smaller apses. The lack of any remains of roofing material in a church where the architectural details are well preserved indicates that it must have been of wood which would be stolen in a country so badly off for firing. A number of pilaster capitals found at fairly regular intervals down the church were probably for supporting the roof beams. These capitals were highly decorated in what I may call the "chip-carving" style characteristic of the town or, probably more accurately, of the Negeb.

The Chapel lying immediately to the south of the church contains a geometric mosaic of common designs. It has an inscription at the west end but unfortunately the date is destroyed; the style, however, is of the later sixth century.

The Narthex and Baptistry contained tombs with dated inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries; the latest, from the Baptistry is of A.D. 648. The Baptistry, from its position opening out of the church, is plainly of the later sixth century, but as it is the latest piece of building in the complex it is practically valueless as dating evidence. Indeed such evidence is, strictly speaking, lacking, but I don't think we should be far wrong in assigning the main period of building in the complex to the early sixth century or possibly a little earlier. That it continued in use after the Christians had deserted it is clear from the plaster on the northern wall of the Atrium,

and the northern Exedra of the Narthex, where there are Arab inscriptions in Cufic character of the ninth century. They are of no historical importance being chiefly invocations to God.

Immediately to the south of the church was a large complex of rooms which we take to be a monastery (Pl. II, Fig. 2) ; that there was a monastery is clear from tomb inscriptions which mention monks. Unfortunately the only room in the complex to which we can assign a use is the bathroom. On the west side of the monastery, adjoining the church, was a " loggia " which was built before the batter wall of the church complex. The recognition of the nature of this room, cumbered though it was with debris, was one of Woolley's most brilliant deductions. There is evidence to show that the roof of the Loggia was the one direct access to the church from the monastery.

The South Church (Pl. III, Fig. 1, Pl. IV) is of the same triapsidal form as the North. In the south apse Woolley notes a scene which he suggests is the Transfiguration ; it has suffered badly since his time, but there are still traces of paint including a fragment of the name of St. John. Wiegand, curiously enough, transfers this scene to the Chapel of the North Church, but it is clearly to be seen where Woolley places it.

This church is not so impressive as the northern one ; the proportions of the main apse are not so good. The spring of the dome is only one square above ground level as opposed to one and a half. It is also much less well preserved. Above the south apse the photograph shows a room similar to those referred to in the North Church and presumably approached in the same way ; there is a similar one over the north apse with a door opening westwards presumably to the triforium.

The plan shows how cramped and twisted the whole complex is. The line of the reservoir is at the bottom of the plan and it is clear that the reservoir preceded the present church and that its existence prevented what I may call " forward movement " in planning. Consider the entrance to the church. A monumental door leads to a small room from which there is a fine arched door into the Narthex and a tiny " back door " directly into the church. Odd rooms lie to the north and south

of the Narthex, and only two main doors lead into the church. The whole arrangement gives the impression that the boundaries were fixed before the church was built and that the builders worked to fill the available space. Owing to an optical illusion due to the arcading running east and west, it is not immediately clear from the plan that the church is square, but it is clear that the apses not only lie at an angle to the west wall but that they are not straight amongst themselves.

The paving of the church was curious. The south aisle was paved with limestone, the nave with marble (now gone), and the north aisle with limestone with a little marble at the west end. In the south aisle is the inscription recording the laying of the floor in A.D. 640.

The Baptistry contained a monolithic font (Pl. III, Fig. 2) in the form of a maltese cross with steps leading down inside the east and west arms. There was a similar font in the Baptistry of the North Church but much less well-preserved. The Baptistry was highly decorated with paint and carving, and the front of the font was panelled with marble.

The Baptistry was entered from the Narthex and its position together with the better decoration lead us to date it earlier than that of the North Church—probably to the earlier years of the sixth century. In room E to the south was found a carved lintel dated to the earlier part of the fifth century (unfortunately the date was damaged) and the character of its decoration is considerably earlier than that of the Baptistry.

North of the Baptistry was a mosque (Pl. V, Fig. 1). Its Mihrab penetrates slightly into the Baptistry, and it looks as if an original northern door had been blocked up by the niche, since the decoration of its arch is better than the poor construction of the niche itself would lead one to suspect, and it is of the same character as that of the Baptistry. On the arch voussoirs of the mosque were incised Cufic inscriptions of the ninth century. They have not all yet been read, but one records the building of the mosque by a certain Hassan. As we have come to expect of important inscriptions at S'baita, the exact date is indecipherable.

Now to turn to the civil architecture. One of the first things which strikes one in the town is the different types of stone used. The bases of all walls are of a hard crystalline limestone, whereas the upper sections are of a soft chalky stone which can be scratched with the finger-nail; there is a third type of stone, between the other two in hardness, which is used for the framing of doors, for lintels, and for such details. The doors are usually of the lintel type but in a fair number of cases are arched.

The houses are built as far as possible of stone. The roofs were of beams of hard stone supported on arches of chalk with the spaces between each arch and the wall built up to the height of the arch so as to get a flat roof. These rooms stand up to time very well—two members of the expedition live in rooms they have cleared out. But though wood was obviously valuable it was never such a vital matter as in the contemporary cîties of Syria. We have as yet found no stone doors and all our cupboards were shelved with wood and in some cases furnished with wooden doors.

One room that was cleared proved to be a stable. Its general construction is that of an ordinary room but between each arch the eastern wall is pierced by double-sided mangers. These are arched and have sides formed of single slabs which have got a fairly high polish from the horses' necks; we deduce horses from the height of the mangers from the ground. It is perhaps worth noting that de Vogué publishes an identical stable from Amrah in Syria.

Pl. V, Fig. 2 shows another interesting detail—the bath in the monastery. It is cut down to the native rock and then paved and cemented, though a small sump was left in the centre for settlement. The drying room can be seen beyond, and the channel through which the drying room drains back to the bath.

The town was quite well provided with baths. Besides the monastery bath there is a rudimentary one in the South Church Complex, and there are two bath houses outside the town. All this calls for a considerable water supply—and this is the greatest problem concerning S'baita. It is entirely dependent

on rainfall, for there is no well nearer than ten miles off. Woolley and Lawrence have dismissed Huntingdon's theory of increased rainfall in ancient times as contrary to the evidence but we are inclined to be more careful, though we cannot yet accept the theory wholeheartedly. Assuming a population of 10,000 for the town—and this figure has been put forward by independant observers—and taking the present rainfall we have calculated that the catching of all the rainfall in the town without any loss whatsoever, would merely allow one-third of a gallon per day per person. Admittedly there are cisterns outside the town but it is also clear that there would be a great loss within it. Against this there are the facts that 10,000 may well be a grave over-estimate of the population and that certainly immense care was taken to collect every drop of water. Every house had its rock-cut cistern or cisterns, and there were two great reservoirs in the centre of the town. These latter, however, were only reserve suppliers, subsidiary to the cisterns in the houses, for the only water channels we have seen near the reservoirs carefully avoid them and, after running right past them, pour into private cisterns. The reason for this is obvious—the evaporation from an open reservoir would be enormous.

About half an hour to the south of the town, in the upper reaches of the Wadi al-Abyad is a great system of reservoirs and canals. This is all silted up now and we have only been able to make a superficial examination of it but it was obviously a large scale work. Individual walls are as much as 10-ft. thick and still stand 15-ft. high. The whole system, which covers an area of about 90-100 acres, was probably for cultivation in the wadi, but it could obviously be drawn on for drinking water if necessary.

Of the art of the town it is not possible to say much as yet. There is little which can be considered characteristically Byzantine in style though we have some marble pilaster capitals from the North Church which recall Ravenna work, and may also be compared with some capitals published by Petrie in *Roman Ehnasaya* (Pl. LXXI). The " chip-carving " referred to above

is our characteristic style usually in patterns resembling Union Jacks. These are frequently finished off with a simple chevron pattern which is apparently what Woolley misleadingly refers to as the "usual Dog-tooth"—certainly we have not yet recognised any true "Dog-tooth" in the town.

Small objects have been extremely scarce in the town, another proof, if one were needed, that it was deserted gradually and not taken by storm. Our chief finds have been small pins and rings; our biggest crop of the latter was from the reservoirs—probably they got lost when the women were washing the clothes. Fragments of glass lamps have turned up in large quantities, and we have also found a large number of fragments of ostrich eggs; presumably these were hung above the lamps, as is done today, to prevent rats getting down the chains to drink the oil.

The pottery is of great interest though it is a very thorny subject upon which little can be said at present. It is astonishing, considering how many excavators must have dug through Byzantine layers, how little information is available on this all important topic. On the rough pottery much more work will have to be done before anything can be said on it, but of the other wares there are two which are worthy of note though in publishing them here we are rather seeking information than giving it.

Pl. VI, Fig. 1 shows a painted ware. It has a red body showing a black centre to a fracture. The clay is well washed and takes a fairly high burnish. It is a thin ware. The designs are floral and geometric and are painted on in black, white, blue and yellow after firing—the paint today is very friable. Though evidence is extremely scanty it seems to date from the sixth, possibly the fifth, century up to the ninth or even later, but we badly need evidence from other sites before we can make this statement with any great confidence.

Pl. VI, Fig. 2 shows a buff ware—thin and hard. The various sections of the pot—there appears to be only one shape, though we have not been able to reconstruct any complete pots as yet—were made in moulds and then attached to one another.

FIG. 1. S'BAITA FROM THE SOUTH. WADI ZAYATÎN IN THE FOREGROUND.

Fig. 1. The North Church.

Fig. 2. The North Church Monastery from the North-east.

Fig. 2. The North Church Complex from the North-west.

FIG. 1. THE SOUTH CHURCH.

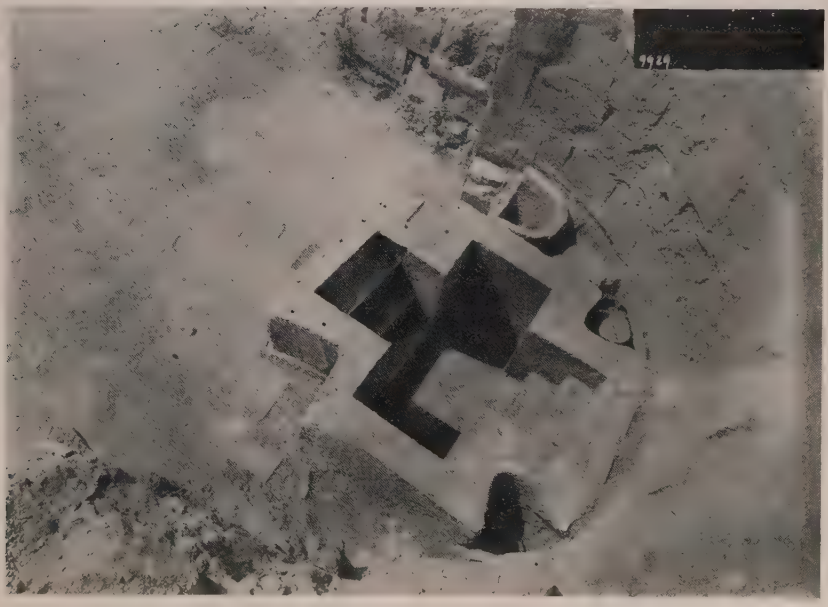


FIG. 2. THE FONT IN THE SOUTH CHURCH BAPTISTRY.

THE SOUTH CHURCH COMPLEX.

(*Surveyed by* D. F. BROWN.) (*Drawing by* J. F. BROWN.)

FIG. 1. THE MOSQUE LOOKING SOUTH.

FIG. 2. THE BATH IN THE NORTH CHURCH MONASTERY.

FIG. 1. PAINTED SHERDS.

FIG. 2. ARAB MOULDED SHERDS (TWELFTH CENTURY ?)

The pot was globular with a flat bottom, usually decorated, and a tall neck with a vertical handle. The neck usually contained a filter and the whole seems to have corresponded to a modern gullah.

Our type appears to be of the twelfth century though Sauvaget has found and published some fourteenth century examples from Syria. It seems to be widespread in the Islamic World; examples have been found at Cairo, Rakka, and Tarsus, as well as on intermediate sites, but apart from Sauvaget's work it appears to have been very much neglected. It is worth noting that a very similar looking pot was published by Pope in the *Illustrated London News* of June 22, this year—coming from Rhages in Persia.

Report of the 1935 Samaria Excavations.

By J. W. Crowfoot

Two discoveries which were made unexpectedly towards the close of the season in 1933 led to the resumption of work at Samaria this year, the first of these discoveries being the round tower with earlier walls beneath it at the north east corner of the summit, the second, the fine piece of walling near the place where most of the ivories had come from, about 100 metres west of the tower (Q.S. 1933, p. 130, 1934, Plates I.-III). The good condition of the walls led us to imagine that in both places we might have reached an area in which the destruction had been less complete than elsewhere, where consequently various doubtful points in the topography of the early city might be elucidated, and where there might be other finds to make.

Between the close of work in 1933 and the resumption in 1935, Mr. Buchanan prepared a reconstruction of the ancient city plan (Plate VII.) based partly on the walls already known, partly on the present contours of the hill of which he has an unrivalled knowledge. On the summit there were two walls to be considered, a massive double wall which we called the *Casemate* wall from the rows of rooms or casemates which were built in it along the greater part of its length—that the cross-walls were not a merely subterranean structural feature, but formed rooms or casemates above the level of the ground was proved both in Q.b and Q.n—and an *Inner wall* which ran parallel to the Casemate wall on the north-side of the hill but abutted immediately against it on the south. The Inner wall Buchanan believed to be the enclosure wall of a great parallelogram, which included nearly all the ground now lying above the 430 m. contour line. The Casemate wall he believed was broken on the north to give access to the summit from a road which skirted the north side of the hill. This road might have followed an easy gradient from somewhere near the later west

gate and, as it rounded the north west corner of the hill, would pass on to an intermediate terrace inside a line of fortifications of which he pointed out traces under the round tower and in front of the forecourt of the Augusteum.

Buchanan was mistaken in some details, the Casemate wall is not broken where he thought it was, and the road did not run inside the fortifications, but his reconstruction was sufficiently near the mark to be extremely helpful to us in planning the season's work. Both areas selected for excavation were chosen to throw light upon the topographical points which he raised, and in both cases the choice was justified. The first area included the tower (Q.y) and one or two fields to the south of it (Q.x, Q.w), the excavation being supervised by Dr. Ben-Dor. The second area included the fine wall previously excavated (Q.k) and the ground reaching to the east and north-east of it, crossing the Casemate wall, and stretching down over the edge of the hill to cut the line of Buchanan's road (Q.n) ; this area being supervised by Miss Kenyon. Unfortunately in both fields we underestimated the time and cost which the excavation would involve ; in each place only a portion of the area was dug, and the rest examined by means of soundings in narrow trenches which could not in the nature of the case give quite satisfactory results.

Work was started on April 9, and it was continued at full strength until June 8. Our Egyptian foremen left the following day, and a few further soundings were made with small gangs during the next fortnight. The filling-in of the main excavations began on June 25 ; it was carried out by contract and lasted about a week.

Besides Dr. Ben-Dor and Miss Kenyon, the expedition in 1935 included Mrs. Crowfoot who was in charge again of the Object Registers ; Mrs. Ben-Dor who helped with the photographic work and took charge of all the coins found, Mr. A. H. Detweiler of the American School, who was our Surveyor and Architect, and Miss Diana Crowfoot who looked after the camp and the accounts. Mrs. Lake, who happened to be in Jerusalem,

very kindly recorded all the new Rhodian jar stamps—over 300.

1. The Two Walls round the Summit.

The fine wall which was found in 1933 was the continuation 8 m. long of a line we had traced in 1931 and 1932, for some 40 m. in which there was only one short section of masonry left, though the line of the wall was clearly traceable all along in the rock cuttings which had been prepared for it. It was now followed east for another 18 m. or so : here too the actual wall had been robbed all the way, thus dispelling many of our hopes, but again the rock platform on which it stood was clear. Yet another 60 m. to the east, in the field behind the round tower, the end of this wall was picked up in more rock workings which were equally clear and as completely robbed.

At this point the line ended against a rock trench running north-south at right angles to it ; in the short section running north there was a little masonry, which broke off just beyond the line of the inner face of the Casemate wall, here, as in Q.k, 6 metres to the north. To south the rock trench was easily distinguished for another 9 metres or so, mounting in steps as the rock rose ; one or two odd stones remained in place and on one of the rock steps a small nick had been cut to guide the masons. We continued digging in the same line in the hope of tracing it further to the south but the rock, which had risen about 5 m. in the last 15, now suddenly dropped more than 4 metres and we found ourselves in a quarry of the Roman period which would have destroyed every trace of the wall we were following. The quarry extended some 10 metres south and, when the rock rose again, we found another series of working on a different alignment which we were unable to follow far enough to explain. The original line, however, which we had followed for 15 metres north of the quarry was exactly in line with a right-angled turn in the inner of two walls on the south side of the hill which we excavated in 1932. There can be no reasonable doubt therefore that we have found the north-east and south-east corners of the inner face of the early enclosure wall. The outer face we could not determine to our satisfaction ;

east of the masonry, near the north-east corner, there were the remains of two early plaster floors with a dividing wall between them, the south floor was 25 cm. higher than the north, which had four cupshaped depressions with channels running from them into a plastered tank, the stands probably for four porous water jars ; the north wall of these rooms lay in a broad rock trench to which the tank reached, but the line of the back wall which would have been the east face of the Inner wall was not clear and it may have been destroyed by a Roman house close by. It seems, however, more likely that, as the direction of the hill itself turns slightly to the north-east at this point, the back wall may have followed the same line as the later Roman walls askew to the front wall, and there may have been a central prolongation of the enclosure on this new axis.

The little masonry of this wall which remains is of the same character as the masonry of the wall in Q.k ; in both walls low bosses are left only on the lower foundational course, the stones in the upper courses are dressed smooth, headers and stretchers alternate regularly in each course but there is sometimes more than one header between two stretchers, the height of the courses varies from 44 to 49 cm., the greater dimension of the stones is rarely more than 100 cm., and generally less, the smaller dimension averages about 25 cm., and as a rule it is only the facing stones which are jointed closely. The masonry of the wall on the top of the south scarp which was cleared in 1931-32 is essentially similar, and so is the masonry of a long wall on the west cleared by Reisner and described by him as the west wall of Ahab's palace proper (Harvard Excavations, p. 61). These four walls therefore we identify as the boundary walls of the early enclosure which measured on the inside about 175 metres by 90.

The Casemate wall was later than the Inner wall and enclosed a rather larger area. The new information which we acquired this year concerned the eastern limit of this wall, the date, and other details of its construction.

The regular, 10 metres wide, north Casemate wall ended to

the east on the same line as the Inner wall, the south face of the last casemate being built against the north extension of the east wall of the inner enclosure, which probably ran as far as a rock edge 2.5 m. north of the south casemate face. The east wall of the last casemate was built more carefully than the usual transverse wall and was some 50 cm. thicker ; this was because it served also as the west wall of a small rectangular tower. The north face of the tower (outside dimensions 9 x 8, inside 5.5 x 4.8) prolonged the line of the north casemate face for another 6.5 metres, the east wall was like the north wall of the casemates, about 2 metres thick and very carefully built, the south wall which had been almost completely robbed in or before the Roman period was about 1.5 thick and belonged in fact originally to the system of the inner enclosure wall. The condition of the rock at the north-east corner proved that the north wall which had run in a straight line for more than 190 metres was not continued any further ; the trench of the south wall, on the other hand, did continue but how far we cannot say. There were some indications that a cross wall of the usual casemate type ran north-south through the middle of the tower, but the evidence was rather ambiguous.

The last casemate proper, which is the only one we uncovered in this area, had an east-west transverse wall ; this is an unusual feature but three other examples have been found, one in Q.m and one each in the sections uncovered in 1931 and 1932, and it has been plausibly suggested that these walls may indicate the presence of turrets projecting above the wall ; in this particular case there may have been a stairway leading up to the adjoining tower. There are two other features worth notice ; above the top surviving course at the south-east corner there were a number of smaller stones irregular in shape but evidently laid with care ; these stones seem to have been laid in order to bring the course on which they stood level with the adjoining course of the Inner wall which was already in existence, the height of the casemate course having been pre-determined by the construction further west. The second feature is the patch of heavy masonry inside the same corner ; this patch is in line with

the rock trench which carried the south wall of the tower and was added presumably to buttress it ; it will be noticed that the stones in this patch did not require the small irregular course to bring it to the desired height.

The masonry of the tower and the Casemate wall was markedly different in appearance from that of the Inner wall ; in the two eastern walls the bosses were very prominent, there were no smoothly dressed stones, whole rows of headers only were laid in the lower courses, and the dimensions were greater, the height of the courses varying from 50 to 52 cm., the length of the headers from 106 to 113 and their width from 33 to 58. In the internal and cross walls the stones were of similar dimensions but less carefully jointed. The face of these walls was not so good to look at as the face of the Inner wall, but they were much stouter ; they resemble the Casemate walls, found by Reisner at the south-west corner of the summit.

In Q.n several more facts about the Casemate wall came to light. In front of the well preserved section of the Inner wall, a short length of the Casemate wall still stood 11 courses high (Plate VIII), east of this the whole width of the wall except the edge of the outer face was uncovered, and in some rock trenches two or three courses were still in place. More important still was the discovery of large chunks of the original filling which was thrown into the casemates and also between the Casemate wall and the Inner wall after the former was built. When the Inner wall was built the ground level sloped gently down northwards, nowhere more than some 30 cm. above the rock ; when the Casemate wall was built its foundation trench was cut into this floor and the ground level was then raised by an imported dump from 2 to 3 metres thick. It was already clear from what had been seen both in Q.x and on the south side of the hill that the Inner wall was earlier than the Casemate wall ; the potsherds in the dumped filling proved that there was no long interval of time between the two, and that both belong to an early phase of the Israelite monarchy.

The masonry of the upper courses in the Casemate wall cuts a poor figure beside the masonry of the Inner wall which con-

fronted it, but it must be remembered that it is the inside face which is preserved, that all but the three upper courses which may have been partially reconstructed were below the new ground level : the bottom courses in this wall are truly laid and the courses above them were probably adequate to the purpose in view. That the Casemate walls were carefully set out was proved by the survival of one of the red guiding lines which the masons used to mark out their work : it indicated the line to be taken by one of the rare east-west cross walls.

The north and south-east corners then of the two enclosures have been at last determined and something of the mutual relations of the two, but the gateway which led into them has not yet been found. The contour of the hill suggests that it lay on the east side, and our discovery of three Proto-Ionic capitals near the south-east corner in 1932 and four fragments of similar capitals near the round tower in 1933 and 1935 supports this view, but its position must be left to others to find.

2. The Walls on the Lower Terrace.

The area enclosed by the Casemate wall corresponds almost exactly with the area which rises above the 430 m. contour today : it is only at the north-east and south-east corners that a little ground now below this level was then included. On the north, south and west sides the drop from the summit to the next terrace is steep, on the east it is perceptible but much less steep and the east-west direction of the ridge veers slightly to the north, changing just where the round tower stands. The present contours of the hill correspond in the main with its natural configuration, however much the latter may have been modified in some respects and accentuated in others by building operations. The round tower stands in a significant position ; it is at the head of a sort of valley which debouches to the north in the depression where the stadium was built, and rather high up on the terrace which runs along the north side of the summit. It is obviously a crucial point commanding the easiest approach to the summit on the north side. It is natural therefore that it should have been strongly defended in later days by the round

tower, and before this by a series of walls which lie behind or under the tower ; the rectangular tower at the end of the Casemate wall was built to protect the same coign. The buildings indeed are so numerous and so massive that it is a difficult matter to disentangle their history.

In 1933 remains of three early walls were found, two of them running through the round tower, and one behind it to the south. The last is the earliest but it is represented only by an empty rock trench 2.6 m. wide. The trench was cut deep into the sloping hillside, the rock rising 65 cm. above the bottom of it on the north side, 2.28 m. on the south. Its line if prolonged would run within 2 m. of the corner of the north-east casemate tower so it had ceased to exist before the Casemate wall and the houses further west were built ; it may, however, well have coexisted with the Inner wall which would have been 8 m. away at its nearest point. Two later walls crossed the small section of this trench which we uncovered in 1933, each going down to the rock, but all the stones in the original wall had disappeared though the lines in the bedding prepared for them were clear. The pottery found in the trench was naturally mixed but included two sherds of the earliest type.

This early wall was replaced apparently by a double wall of which much more remains. Of the outer wall parts of five courses were seen in 1933 east of the tower, two courses were found this year running through the middle of it, and west of it eleven courses (Plate IX). It was obviously still in being when the tower was built and parts of it were incorporated into the later fortifications. We only uncovered it for a length of 5 metres west of the tower and there is every reason to believe that it is well preserved for a much greater distance, but the short fragment which is now visible is far the most impressive piece of early masonry left in Samaria. Above two " regulation courses " there are three courses composed entirely of headers, over 60 cm. high and averaging 40-50 cm. thick ; these three courses in particular are without a parallel in the massive style at Samaria, and the upper course in the middle of the tower was of the same quality. The stones have the usual three drafted

margins, the upper one as usual being the deeper, and the bosses which are prominent and sharply on the side where a vertical margin is wanting. These three courses are separated from the next by a layer of small stones, and then follow two more courses which are composed almost entirely of headers, most of which have a very different boss and a margin only on the top but one of exaggerated depth. The want of uniformity between these two courses and the three below them is accentuated in the four upper courses which are built of alternating headers and stretchers, some of them with the usual drafting, others smooth dressed. The lower courses are the finest examples in the style of the outer face of the Casemate wall and we conclude that the courses above the layer of small stones have been rebuilt at a later date from old material.

Rather more than 2 m. behind this wall a second wall was built, in front on debris, but resting against the rising rock behind; it was built mainly of headers laid in the style of the interior casemate walls. The space between the two walls was presumably always filled with debris, and the main function of the back wall was, one supposes, to relieve the pressure on the outer wall from above. Between the south face of the second wall and the north face of the Casemate wall there was a space of about 10 m., which was heavily occupied in the eighth century at least. There was no room for an important road inside the wall at this period.

The north face of the outer wall is in line with a prepared rock scarp which was found in 1932 below the substructure of the Herodian temple forecourt about 120 metres to the west; the inner face of the same wall was picked up as an "absent wall" in a narrow trench at the north end of Q.n. Just south and again some 18 metres further south, in the same sounding two other "absent walls," which on stratigraphic grounds Miss Kenyon assigns to an earlier date, may be, the first, an older wall on the later line, the second a continuation of the old wall in the empty rock trench. Nothing which corresponds to the middle wall in Q.y was found at this point, and it is possible that it was a feature peculiar to that area.

The line of fortifications to which the great wall in Q.y belonged, probably included the wall found by the Harvard Expedition on the lower terrace south-west of the summit, and the walls found by us in 1931-32 near the threshing floors. There is however, no reason to suppose that this was the outermost line, as early remains have been found at various points beyond it.

3. The Hellenistic Remains.

(*a*) The round tower which was discovered in 1933 was then assigned tentatively to the Israelite period. The masonry and, in particular, the dressing of the stones was not like that of any of the Israelite walls with which we were familiar, but the build and plan of the tower were exactly like those of a round tower discovered by the Harvard Expedition at the south-west corner of the summit which was attributed by Reisner to the reign of Jeroboam II. We assigned the new tower to the same reign on this authority. But we had some qualms about it and decided to look for better evidence this year.

A shaft was accordingly sunk in the north-east quadrant against the inner face of the tower, and the filling was very carefully removed in layers corresponding with the tower courses. The filling in the top strata on the levels of courses XI to VII. was not very instructive ; near the tower it consisted entirely of white limestone chips and a little further back broken stones, dark coloured earth, and potsherds, mainly of the Israelite period, were mixed with more white chips. Gradually as we descended, the character of the filling changed. From the bottom of Course VII. to Course III. the dark debris reached up to the tower but it was now divided into zones on the line of each course by a thin trickle of white chips, which became thicker from Course III. downwards. It was quite clear that, except perhaps in the uppermost strata, this filling had not been disturbed since the tower was built ; it plainly represents the rising platform of the builders, the different zones or strata are the separate fillings added as each course was laid in position, and the white chips which divided them are the chips which fell

from the stones as they were dressed in place. If the filling had been disturbed, these white lines must have been broken. Consequently the latest sherds found in these strata give the earliest possible date for the construction of the tower. The following table compiled by Dr. Ben-Dor shows how the potsherds were distributed :—

Course	Israelite	Post-Israelite	Hellenistic	Total
XI.	40	3	—	43
X.	17	8	1	26
IX.	113	28	—	141
VIII.	28	3	—	31
VII.	48	8	—	56
VI.	151	91	5	247
V.	100	97	3	200
IV.	50	106	5	161
III.	16	26	—	42
II-I.	12	26	2	40
				987

It is obvious that the masons built their platform from the materials lying to hand ; the top of the surface debris was the first to be thrown into the pit, it included a few Greek and Hellenistic sherds, a great quantity of sherds from the post-Israelite and Persian periods and some Israelite sherds ; as the platform rose higher the builders shovelled in debris from lower levels and in these Israelite wares preponderated. Fragments of Hellenistic pottery are difficult to date closely but so far as we can tell at present none of the fragments found need be later than the end of the fourth century. It is possible therefore that the tower may be the work of Perdiccas who is said by Eusebius and Jerome to have rebuilt Samaria, in which case it was built about 325 B.C. ; it cannot in any case be earlier.

At this time it is evident that the great wall which was described in the last section was still in sufficiently good condition to be incorporated in the new defence scheme by Perdiccas or whoever built the tower, and that the two towers

found by Reisner on the south west of the hill (Harvard Excavations, pp. 63, 86, 118, Plans 2 and 5) belonged to the same plan. But before this period the defences of this city at this critical point seem to have given cause for anxiety. An enormously thick wall, presumably part of a tower, was built between the great wall on the terrace and the tower at the end of the Casemate wall. The walls of this tower were built across the empty rock trench and above the early middle wall, and they underlay the tower ; built into them were the fragments of proto-Ionic capitals ; they probably date therefore from a time when the Israelite building had suffered heavily and the Casemate wall was more or less destroyed, but the date cannot be more closely fixed.

(*b*) In Q.n to w, important discoveries of the Hellenistic period were made. Another section of the *Greek Fort* wall was found running obliquely east-north-east across the north end of the field. This is the wall which our predecessors attributed to the Babylonio-Greek period, but in the fairly numerous places where we have struck it on both sides of the hill it is clearly of Hellenistic origin and not very early at that. This section measured 4 m. across and was built with the characteristic transverse ties described by Fisher (Harvard Excavations, p. 126.)

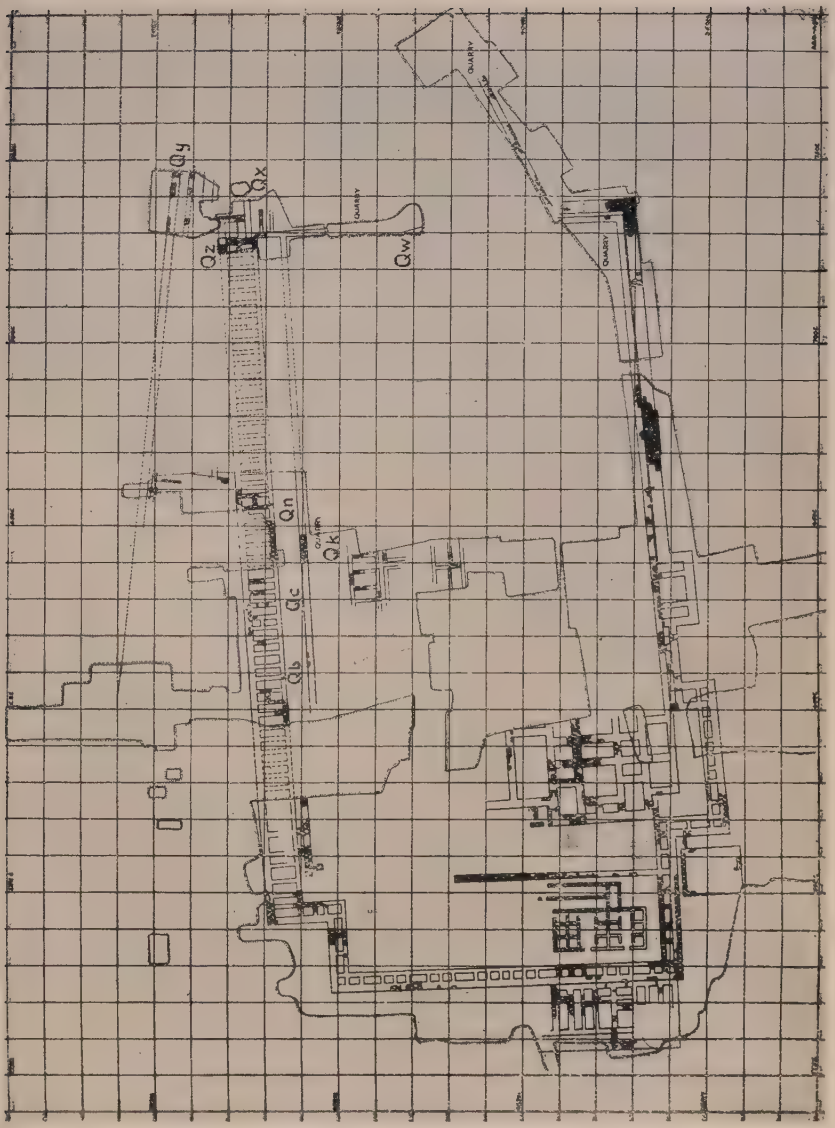
The other find was an enormous Hellenistic rubbish pit occupying almost the whole width of the Casemate wall. This contained a great quantity of Hellenistic pottery including a large number of stamped jar handles, Rhodian and others. The number of these now found in Samaria, which is over 2,000, gives an idea of the character and prosperity of the place in the second and third centuries B.C.

The Roman Remains.

In Q.n the foundations of a largish Roman house (fourth century ?) with two mosaic floors of no great interest and some mud floors have been discovered ; below it are traces of three other buildings ; the foundations of these have been mostly removed, but part of a hypocaust, the third to be found in

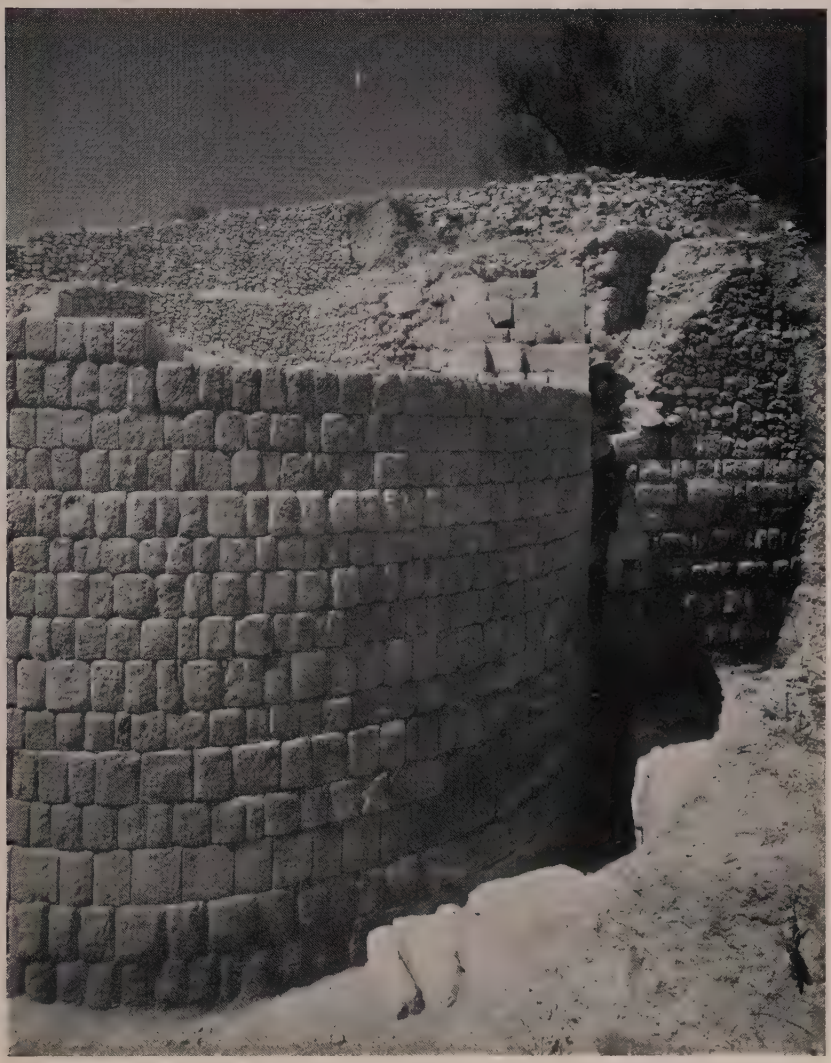
Sebaste, and a step bath belonging to one of them still remained.

Along the south end of Q.x parts of two rooms and a rock cut cellar were cleared ; six courses of the north wall were still standing 1.5 m. high, and the inner room was paved with plain white mosaics laid a few centimetres above the rock. Coins which were found in and on the beaten floor of the front room show that the house dates from the fourth century. An ivory statuette of Ganymede and the Eagle was also found buried in this beaten floor ; one wing of the eagle is broken and Ganymede has lost the lower part of his legs, otherwise the figurine is in excellent condition. Ganymede is wearing a Phrygian cap and a short cloak round the neck. The statuette which measures 7.8 cm. is carved in a soft late style. Besides this a fine piece of entablature which may date from the first century A.D. was found in the debris on the floor together with a number of stone voussoirs from the roof.

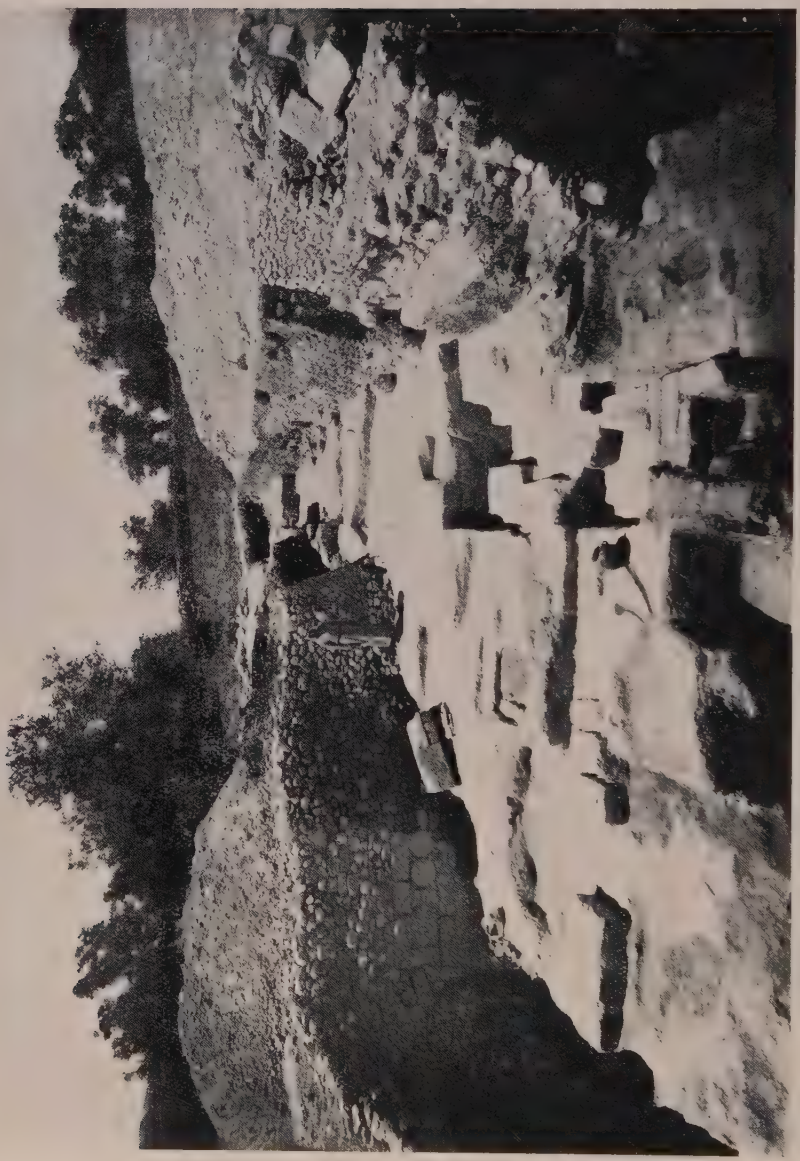


SAMARIA. Plan of the Israelite remains on the Summit of the Hill.

SAMARIA. THE INNER (SOUTHERN) FACE OF THE CASSMATE WALL IN Q. K.



SAMARIA LOOKING SOUTH-WEST. HELLENISTIC ROUND TOWER WITH AN EARLY ISRAELITE WALL TO THE WEST OF IT.



SAMARIA. THE NORTH-EASTERN CORNER OF THE ENCLOSURE ON THE SUMMIT.

A Scarab and Sealing From Tell Duweir

By S. H. Hooke

Last year, through the kindness of Mr. J. L. Starkey, director of the Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition to the Near East, we were able to publish an interesting seal from Tell Duweir, the site of ancient Lachish, bearing the name of Shebna, an official at the court of Hezekiah. This year Mr. Starkey brought back from Tell Duweir a steatite scarab and a clay sealing with inscriptions, of which readers of the Quarterly Statement may be glad to have an account.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to relate either of these objects to a definite locus in the excavation, as they were picked up separately. But their internal evidence enables some inferences to be made concerning them.

Fig. 1. Seal of Gedaliah.

On the back of the clay seal impression there still remains the clear impression of the papyrus to which it was originally attached, an interesting proof of the common use of papyrus as writing material in Palestine in the late period of the monarchy. Mr. Starkey acutely suggests that this fact may well explain the extreme scarcity of inscriptional material hitherto found in Palestinian excavation, since papyrus, save under the special conditions which are found in Egypt, does not possess the immortality of clay tablets.

But the most interesting feature of the sealing is the name of the owner of the seal and the title which he bears. The inscription runs :

לגדליה אשר על הבי[ת]

" Belonging to Gedaliah who is over the House."

We are told in II. Kings, xxv, 22, that after Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jerusalem in 586, and carried away captive a large portion of its population, he placed in charge of the remnant of Judah a certain Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, with the style of " governor." We hear in Jeremiah xxxix and xl, further details of this person and of his tragic fate. The peculiar title " over the House " occurs in II. Kings xv, 5, where it is used to describe the position of Jotham, the son of the leper king Uzziah, during the period of his father's enforced retirement. It is also used in II. Kings xix, 2, of Eliakim, a high official in the Court of Hezekiah, apparently the successor of Shebna in the same office, as we gather from Isaiah, xxii, 15-20. From these passages it is clear that the title represents a position of great importance, possibly equivalent to " vice-regent." Hence it is an attractive supposition that the seal in question may actually have been the seal of the man whom Nebuchadnezzar left in the position of governor of Judah after the second captivity.

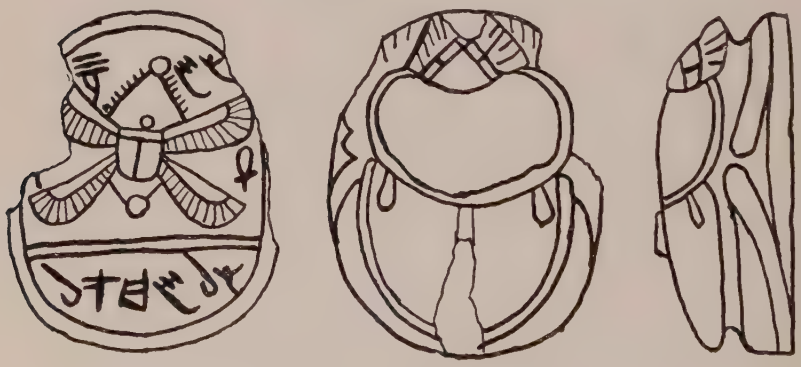
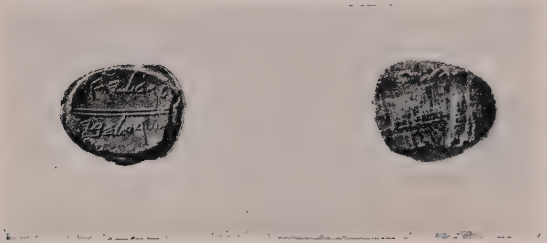


FIG. 2. SEAL OF AHIMELECH.



Clay Sealing with the imprint of the Signet of one Gedaliah with his Title. The underside of Clay Sealing showing the impress of the Fibre of the Papyrus to which it was attached.

Steatite Scarab engraved with the Royal Emblem of the Winged Beetle and Personal Name.

The steatite scarab, which is also a seal, probably belongs to the same period as the seal of Gedaliah, as far as we can judge by the similarity of the script. The scarab, which is slightly broken round the edges, contains in its upper register the engraved figure of the royal emblem of the winged scarab with the *ankh* symbol on each side of the wings. Above the winged scarab is an inscription of which the first letter appears to be missing. Below, in the lower register, is a second inscription giving the name of the owner of the seal. The whole inscription runs as follows :—

סמך [ל]?
לאחמלך

In transcription, (l)*smk lah(i)mlk*. The first element is unusual. The only other inscriptional occurrence, as far as I know, is in a Nabatean inscription from Petra (Lidzbarski, p. 451, Petra, 1, 2), which throws no light on the use of the form here. The Hebrew verb has the meaning of " to lean on, to confirm," also it is used of laying the hands on any one in a ritual sense. It is possible to conjecture a technical use of the word on seals, with the sense of " authorised," or " giving authorisation." Hence the affixing of this particular form of sealing to a document might signify that its contents were ratified by the official whose name the seal bore. But this is purely a conjecture at present.

The second element is the name of the owner of the seal, Ahimelech. The name is chiefly known as that of the unfortunate priest who incurred Saul's anger by assisting David in his flight, I. Samuel xxi, 2 ff. No occurrence of the name can be cited from the O. T., for this period of the history.

The scarab form of seal with its sacred *ankh* sign also bears witness to the persistence of Egyptian cultural influences in Judah at so late a date.

Excavations at Tell El Duweir 1934-1935

Wellcome Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East

(*Lecture given at The Wellcome Research Institute, June 19th,* 1935)

By J. L. Starkey

A six months' winter campaign has completed the third season at Tell Duweir. It is now evident that the mound, with its surrounding hills, was a centre of Copper Age culture from the earliest times. A community occupying some two hundred acres, must have played an important part in the agricultural penetration of the forest zones, which then covered the hills. It is from the excavation of such an early settlement that we may discover early contacts with the neighbouring cradles of civilisation.

In our preliminary work, we have already found fragments of fine stone vessels dating from the Middle Prehistoric to early Old Kingdom cultures of the Nile Valley. Though many are only surface finds—a fine fragment of a diorite vase was actually found in a Persian context—we have evidence that our lowest levels will be rich in such linking material, which is essential to synchronise early Palestinian chronology.

We have now completed the excavation of the upper terrace of the western ridge, and the discovery of stone door sills and jambs, with the stone pivot socket in position, points to the use of wooden doors in the cave dwellings. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1) As previously observed, these caverns had been used in the succeeding period as burial places, and I should perhaps mention one particularly fine group of pottery, found with a burial of a man, which included one of the best early Copper daggers we have seen.

Although the common light tools and weapons were made of flint and stone at this period, copper was being efficiently handled. Analysis of some of our copper objects has been made through the kindness of Dr. Desch of the National Physical Laboratory, and he reports that all the specimens are pure copper and only very faint traces of nickel, arsenic and sulphur have been detected.

(Pl. XIII, Fig. 2) He suggests that this copper was not derived from native metal, but was smelted down from ores of the malachite class, which, as we now know, were available in the Akabah and Wadi Arabah region.

From our researches at present, it is not possible to give a complete picture of life in these early times, but certain facts emerge from a close study of our diverse material. In describing the earliest rock dwellings, I mentioned that a limestone mortar sometimes adjoins the hearth, the place of honour where the assembled guests sat. It seems improbable that this utensil was for normal culinary use ; the women ground the grain for bread-making, and this was undoubtedly done in a saddle quern. Such stone grinders are found with their flat rubbers in the debris of these dwellings. I suggest that parched grain for primitive beer making (*booza*) was pounded by the men in these mortars with wooden pestles. One is forcibly reminded of the coffee ritual practised throughout the Fertile Crescent and Arabia, where the rhythmic pounding of the coffee bean is part of the evening's entertainment.

With these thoughts in mind, there is a rational hypothesis for the invention of another feature so characteristic of these early settlements. I refer to the hand-made pottery, with "wavy ledge handles." This type of handle is also found in the second prehistoric period of Egypt, but never survives for any length of time. In fact, the classification of the prehistoric pottery series of Egypt was originally based upon the rapid degeneration of this particular form of specialised lug.

In Palestine, however—the country of their invention—the most developed forms occur in the earliest period, and were apparently designed to facilitate the inversion of the vessel, possibly to meet the requirements of a beer-drinking people. In this connection, we note that potmarks scratched near the rim of a vessel are sometimes repeated on the base.

The suggestions regarding the grinding stones and mortars common to all early sites, may also explain the use of another type of mortar, (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1) characteristic of the "Hyksos" period. With the tall beer or water jars, which form part of the

regular equipment of burials, we often find a circular basalt dish on three feet, sometimes with a conical hand rubber. The use of this stone dish has always been a puzzle, but if it replaced the earlier stone mortar, its occurrence with the large jars is understandable.

Thus a few isolated objects can shed light on the customs of peoples living before written history.

Last season during the examination of the " Hyksos " fosse, we found a small temple of the period of Egyptian domination, which we then suggested dated to the reign of Amenhetep III, continuing in use until a middle point in the reign of Rameses II.

The building had been destroyed by fire, and it was from the clearance of the ashes, that we recovered many artistic objects in ivory and faience. As soon as the exceptionally heavy winter rains were over this season, we were able to return to the fosse and the further examination of the temple. We lifted the plastered floor with its series of free-standing benches, and to our surprise we discovered an identical lay-out some thirty inches below ; the only difference was that the benches were here constructed of stones, finished with a coating of mud. Set in the floor were four column bases, directly below the later ones, and there was a similar hearth to the one in front of the square mud altar above. It contained an upturned bowl lying in position. Having established the floor level of the earlier sanctuary, we proceeded to cut down in stages the later brick altar and the platform of the raised shrine behind ; it at once became clear that these appurtenances had undergone a steady change of arrangement. The altar was probably the last unit to be built, and the raised shrine appears to have been the earlier construction. The original plaster coating was well preserved behind the later attached altar. After the platform of the shrine had been completely demolished, we found a narrow stone bench against the wall. There was no indication of an earlier altar in this intermediate period, and we may presume that a portable incense altar was used between the hearth and this bench. The presence of wooden furniture in the

temple, may explain the use of the ivory inlay and gilded bronze nails, found last season.

Many more pottery offering vessels were collected, with moulded faience pendants as found in the later level last year. There were pendantive plaques in gold, and from a mole hole came other fragments of the circular ivory toilet box, a warning that stratification has to be carefully watched.

Among the objects found last year was a grotesque cat (Pl. XIV, Fig. 3) of quite different workmanship from the other fine carvings. The figure was cut from bone, and I suggested then that it was probably the replacement by local craftsmen of an original imported piece. This year we have another specimen of local work ; its strong similarity to an ivory mask, (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2) found last season, offers some proof of this contention. Here again we see bone replacing ivory, and the same clumsy handling and lack of line is evident. These two objects lay emphasis on the undoubted foreign origin of the finer work. A large green serpentine vase (Pl. XV) was found on a bench against the west wall of the lower temple, and is also imported. More work awaits us below this newly-discovered floor, for the protruding walls of yet an earlier building can be seen. We hope to examine it during the coming season.

In preparation for concentrated work on the city levels, we have cleared the saddle area which adjoins the camp-house. The region will afford ample dumping ground for the south-west quarter of the city, within the gate. We have evidence of extensive quarrying in this area during the early Judean kingdom. Tombs were found one after the other completely destroyed. The rock roofing and walls provided handy material for the construction of the great stone defences and larger buildings of Rehoboam's scheme for the fortification of the city.

The city commands an extensive view across the coastal plain, and as a frontier fort of Judah it dominated Philistine territory ; " the cities of the plain," Askelon, Ashdod and Gath are visible from the summit. The nearest Philistine site is only six miles away and between lies that narrow strip of land, which was the scene of endless raids on this troubled frontier during

the Jewish period. The main cities along the western frontier were fortified, and Lachish was probably a key position, with Azekah (Tell Zakaryah) next in importance. These forts were linked by a series of block houses and signal posts. (Pl. XII.)

The tombs in the saddle area were mostly eighteenth and nineteenth dynasty and no break is visible in their continuity. An ivory comb (*circa* 1400 B.C.) was found with a good example of the tapering ivory rods, (Pl. XVI, Figs. 2 & 3) similar to those found in the temple last year. It has been suggested that these rods were used to curl the long ringlets on the wigs fashionable at that time. Small pottery rods are found scattered throughout the later levels of the city, which may have replaced these ivory curlers in the Judean period. In the contemporary Assyrian reliefs depicting the siege and capitulation of Lachish, the senior officials of the city are wearing their hair closely curled. These simple pottery sticks may represent the "curling irons" then in use. (Pl. XVI, Fig. 4.)

From one of the wrecked graves in this saddle area we recovered the fragments of a small rough pottery bowl, (Pl. XVI, Fig. 1) bearing outside a short inscription in white paint, with similar characters to those on the Duweir Ewer. It should be noted that hundreds of this type of bowl were found in the mid nineteenth dynasty level of the temple 1300-1260 B.C. The inscription starts with "beth," a letter which does not occur on the Ewer; the vertical stroke is used as a common word divider, which throws more light on the meaning of the three dots used in the Ewer inscription. Since the bowl has been in London, various experts have examined it, but so far there has been little agreement on the translation. I have no doubt that we shall hear further from the epigraphic authorities on this debatable subject.

It is only to be expected that few tombs of Jewish date occur in the saddle area, and it would be rational to assume that those we have found date before the period of active quarrying. I must, however, refer to one such tomb of outstanding interest. (Pl. XVII, Fig. 1.) It is the only chamber tomb yet found that has not been filled to the roof with water laid deposits; the door sealing has kept out surface drainage, and its contents were therefore

undisturbed. Lying on the floor, immediately within the entrance, and below the benches on which the human remains and pottery lay, was a long three-pronged iron fork with a short handle (Pl. XVII, Fig. 2) forged from one piece of metal. Such an implement recalls the story of the sons of Eli told in first book of Samuel, where the priests are accused of abusing the privileges of their office. (I. Samuel ii, 13-14). Perhaps the flesh-hook was considered as an emblem of rank, which would account for its presence in the tomb. Another significant article was a bone plaque, (Pl. XVII, Fig. 3) pierced with three rows of ten holes each, which has been identified as a calendar for marking the days of the month. The fork in association with a calendar suggest that the owner was an official who observed festivals and fasts.

A new task this season was the installation of a discharge chute at the north-west corner of the mound. When this was completed we resumed work on the Persian residency. When the final plans were made by Mr. G. I. Goulden, who prepared a tentative reconstruction of the structure, we pulled down the walls and cleared away the pounded limestone floors. During the demolition, we were surprised to find circular pottery drain-pipes had been used in the bathroom and adjoining lavatory. The underlying Judean Palace-Fort is now left clear for examination next season.

We have also excavated another large building of this period, (Pl. XVIII) slightly to the north of the Palace Fort. An open court is flanked on two sides by chambers, built in the same style as the Persian residency. Some rooms to the west still preserve a coating of lime plaster on the walls, and a few chambers retain plastered floors. These apartments are approached from the courtyard by a flight of broad steps, leading to a rectangular antechamber. Opening from it, on the main axis of the building, is a small inner room on a higher level, approached by three steps. In the centre of the doorway is a drain, which suggests that a libation altar may have stood here. A small niche or cupboard has been built into the south wall; it seems certain that this room was the sanctuary of a building dedicated to one of the later intrusive cults introduced during the Persian regime. The

eastern orientation of the building and the position of the libation altar on the open axis line suggest a solar cult.

Unfortunately few remains could be safely dated to the period of its construction ; as in late Hellenistic times, squatters had sought protection within its walls, and we must date the stratification to this period. A bronze lamp of the pinched lip form may have belonged to the original equipment of sacred vessels. The small square limestone altar found on the lower flight of steps in the court, should perhaps be coupled with it. On one side of the altar in relief is a large hand, and on the other the figure of a man with arms upraised.

In the region of the bastion a new attack has been launched on the city gate, via the sloping roadway. (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1.) The old metalled surface has been found beneath deep deposits of burnt fallen debris from the fortifications which towered above. From our new evidence, the destruction of the city by fire must be dated to the first invasion by the Babylonian forces.

The outer city gate, at the head of the sloping road, has also been cleared of its Persian towers and we have examined the lower levels of the upper city wall, where it flanks the inner gate ; (Pl. XIX, Fig. 2) this shows it to be contemporary with the outer defence wall which we examined last year. The foundation courses still retain the white lime plaster with which the wall had been faced.

Below masonry that once formed the base of a Persian tower adjoining the outer gate, we found the remains of a possible guard-room open to the north, its plastered floor merged into the roadway outside. Above the floor, covering and sealing off a mass of fallen stone, was a layer of charcoal and ash some six inches deep. (Pl. XX, Fig. 1.) It was from this burnt level that we recovered sixteen of the eighteen potsherds that are now known as " The Lachish Letters. " These fragments of pottery are mostly scraps of common water jars, and bear writing in carbon iron ink, only faintly visible when found, below a film of black ash. Careful cleaning in the field showed that some fragments were written on both sides, and a number of them fitted together. As far as the writing was concerned, some

pieces were complete. This seemed puzzling and suggested that perhaps the pot or pots were deliberately broken on the spot, and used as material on which outgoing correspondence had been copied. It seemed at the time less likely that they could be original incoming letters.

However, Professor Torczyner's researches make it abundantly clear that this former alternative must be discarded, as we now read in the letters themselves greetings and messages from outposts beyond the city to one "lord Ya'ush," who may have been captain of the guard.

All the inscriptions appear to be letters, or parts of letters, except one, which is a list of private names written in a bold hand. Letters III. and IV. are, however, the most important. Letter III. gives dating evidence by two contacts with the Old Testament. Towards the end of the letter we are told by the writer that he has heard that the commander of the army, Achbor the son of Elnatan, has passed down to Egypt, taking with him certain men. This offers a striking parallel with Jeremiah xxvi. 20-23. There we are told that King Jehoiakim sent the commander of the army, Elnatan the son of Achbor to Egypt to bring back the prophet Urijah. The thirteenth line of Letter III. refers to "Nedebiah, grandson of the king" and the genealogies in I. Chronicles iii. 18 record Nedebiah as the son of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), and therefore the grandson of Jehoiakim. Thus our two contacts with the Bible confirm one another in suggesting this reign.

As these letters were found, as a group, in the ashes of the fires which destroyed the Jewish city, it seems safe to assign them to the last year of the king's reign, about 597 B.C. Unfortunately a number of these letters are in such bad condition that they will never be deciphered. It is indeed marvellous that Professor Torczyner has succeeded in reading so much, and our grateful thanks are due to him for his untiring patience, so liberally bestowed on this tedious work.

Besides the literary value of these texts, with their all-important bearing on Bible criticism, they have a particular value to us and to Tell Duweir. Letter IV. gives the first

inscriptional proof that our city is to be identified with the Lachish of early record. The writer of this letter, in answering a question put to him by his senior officer, says :

" We are watching the signal stations of Lachish, according to all the signals that you are giving, because we cannot see the signals of Azekah." (Pl. XX, Fig. 2.)

Further inscriptional material of historic significance is found on a clay sealing which bears the impress of the signet of one " Gedaliah " with the court title " he who is over the house " or grand chamberlain. The cross grain of the papyrus to which the seal had been affixed has left a sharp imprint on the back, showing that the document was made of this material. This title immediately reminds us of Gedaliah the son of Shaphan, who was chosen to replace the dethroned Zedekiah as Governor of Judah. Gedaliah's office at the Judean court is not recorded, but if this title of chamberlain denotes his previous exalted position, it must have strongly influenced his nomination by the Babylonians. His untimely murder was a sad day for Jewry, and his death is still commemorated by a Fast which bears his name.

In conclusion, I must express my very best thanks to those colleagues who have been working with me for a third season, and to those who have been with us for the first time. Mr. L. Harding with Miss O. Tufnell and Mr. C. H. Inge have supervised the technical side of the excavation. Mr. R. Richmond Brown has continued to give his skill as photographer in an honorary capacity. Mr. W. B. K. Shaw and Mr. G. I. Goulden, in turn, have been responsible for field survey and architectural record. Miss E. Dyott assisted in the domestic requirements of the family, and Mr. John Richmond and Mr. Donald Brown helped us through the intensive work of the last six weeks. Mr. H. W. Pummell as Maintenance Officer looked after transport and the erection of the discharge chute.

Our grateful thanks are also due to those who assisted with Laboratory work in London. Captain Johnston-Saint, with Mr. A. L. Dean and Mr. H. Port of the Wellcome Research Institute have given us unfailing support, and we have to thank Mr. G. E.

Looking South from Ruined Watch Tower, across N.W. Spurs, Showing Upper Fortifications of Tell Duweir against skyline to right, and Judean Range Visible Left.

Fig. 1. Door Sill and Jambs in Cave Dwelling, N.W. Spur, with Stone Socket for Wooden Door in situ.

Fig. 2. Copper Daggers and Javelins from the late Copper Age Necropolis.

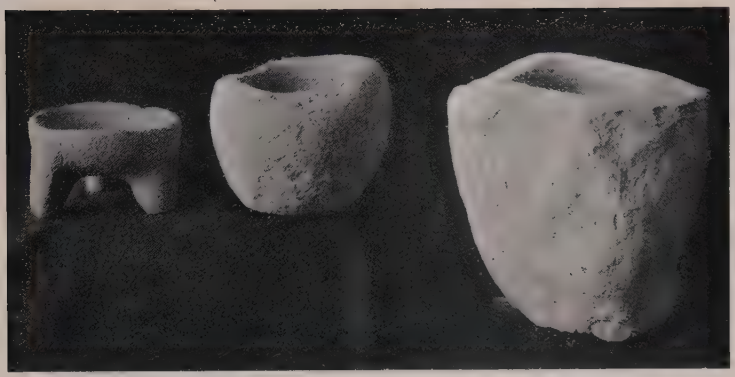


FIG. 1. LIMESTONE MORTARS FROM THE CAVE DWELLINGS OF THE EARLIEST CANAANITE PERIOD, AND BASALT TRIPOD MORTAR OF THE HYKSOS PERIOD.

FIG. 2. HEAD, CARVED IN BONE.

FIG. 3. CAT, CARVED IN BONE. BOTH THESE OBJECTS WERE FOUND IN XVIIITH. - XIXTH. DYNASTY TEMPLE. 1300-1260 B.C.

GREEN SERPENTINE VASE, FOUND ON BENCH AGAINST WEST WALL OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD TEMPLE, XVIIITH.-XIXTH. DYNASTY.

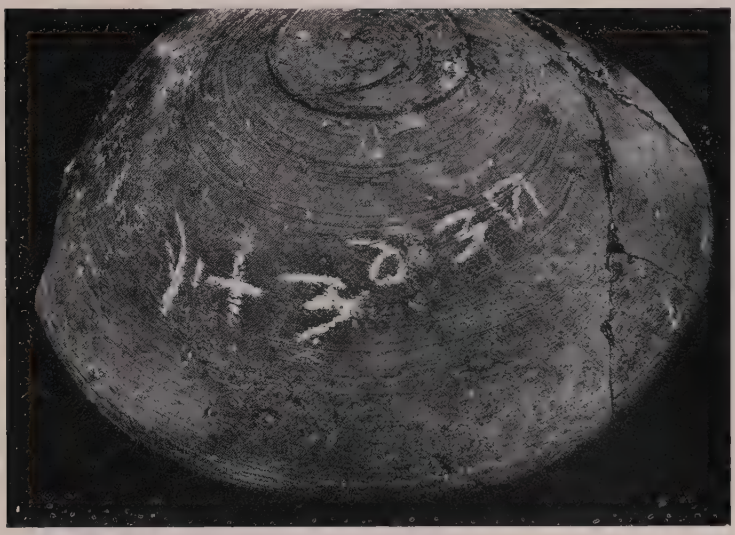


FIG. 1. SMALL ROUGH POTTERY BOWL, BEARING CHARACTERS IN PROTO-PHOENICIAN SCRIPT. SAME PERIOD AS THE DUWEIR EWER.

FIGS. 2 AND 3. COMB AND CURLER, IVORY, XVIIITH. DYNASTY.

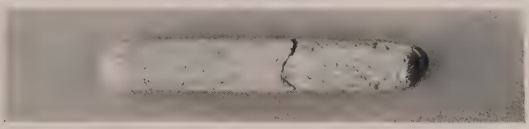


FIG. 4. SHORT POTTERY ROD, USED FOR CURLING HAIR (?) IN THE JUDEAN KINGDOM PERIOD.

FIG. 1. TOMB 521 LOOKING TOWARDS ENTRANCE. ROCK BENCH LEFT AGAINST NORTH WALL, WITH POTTERY AND SKELETONS IN POSITION. IRON TRIDENT ON FLOOR RIGHT, BELOW ENTRANCE. SOLOMONIC PERIOD.

FIG. 2. IRON TRIDENT.

FIG. 3. BONE PLAQUE, POSSIBLY CALENDAR.

General view of Solar Shrine, looking West across open Courtyard. Platform of late Judean Palace-Fort against skyline. Persian Period.

FIG. 1. LOOKING UP ROADWAY TO OUTER CITY GATE IN SOUTH-WEST BASTION, SHOWING LOWER DEFENCE WALL FLANKING ROADWAY TO RIGHT.

FIG. 2. INNER CITY GATEWAY, PERSIAN PERIOD, BEFORE REMOVAL BY US. SPRING 1935.

FIG. 1. GUARDROOM IN EASTERN TOWER, ADJOINING OUTER GATE. LATE JUDEAN PERIOD. DISCOVERED AFTER REMOVAL OF LATER PERSIAN RUIN. WORKMAN CLEARING BURNT DEPOSIT IN WHICH "THE LACHISH LETTERS" WERE FOUND. INNER CITY GATE LEFT, WITH RUIN OF FLANKING TOWER. CITY WALL AGAINST SKYLINE. LATE JUDEAN KINGDOM.

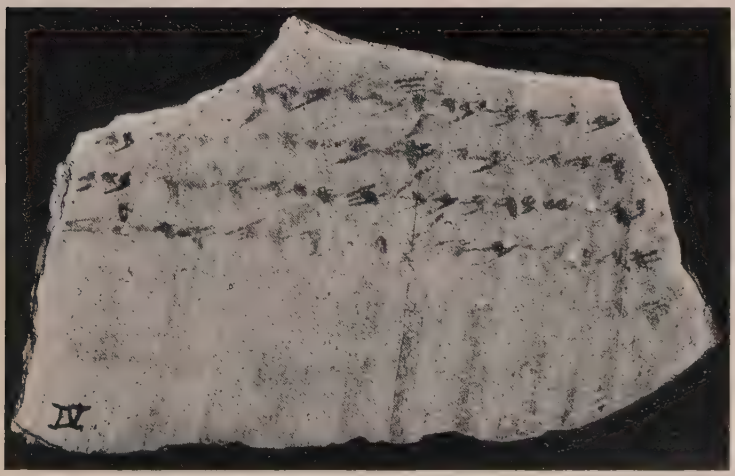


FIG. 2. "LACHISH LETTER" NO. IV. REVERSE, WHERE THE FIRE SIGNALS OF LACHISH AND AZEKAH ARE MENTIONED.

Pearson and Mr. G. L. Moore, officers of the Wellcome Foundation for the accommodation and facilities so generously extended to us.

Sir Henry Wellcome, Sir Charles Marston and Sir Robert Mond, have never ceased to encourage our efforts, and I trust that the results of this season's work will be acceptable to them.

Correspondence

DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to Mr. Towers for pointing out the " dangerous " slip of which I was guilty in my article. I should have written " the fall of the city " and not " the invasion led by Joshua." There is, of course, no " excavational evidence " (I do not like the term any more than he appears to do) that the two were related, and the fact that the circumstantial evidence presses this conclusion upon us in no way excuses my misstatement.—Yours, W. JOHN PHYTHIAN-ADAMS.

The Abbey,
Carlisle.
August 14th, 1935.

From Col. R. Meinertzhagen—

" THE imminent drainage of the Huleh basin in northern Palestine is a matter of primary concern to the biologist, removing, as it will, a fauna and flora of supreme interest and of much importance to science. The disappearance of Lake Huleh, much as it is to be deplored from a scientific aspect, can be considerably compensated if a complete and thorough biological survey is undertaken before marsh and swamp give place to agriculture.

In the fenlands of Britain and in many areas of the civilised world, examples are legion where a peculiar fauna and flora have been lost for ever on account of reclaiming and draining operations. It were a great pity if a similar disaster befall Lake Huleh.

In the Holy Land we have peculiar biogeographical conditions such as are found nowhere else. Up the centre of Palestine

(in its broader sense) we find a tongue of Africa (the Ethiopian Region) penetrating the Palaearctic Region. Whilst the fauna and flora of Palestine are largely of palaearctic type (that is to say, typical of Europe and northern Asia, a vast area which was once mainly covered with ice during the recent glacial periods), and belong to the Mediterranean sub-region of that type, Ethiopian types have migrated north up the Red Sea, the Gulf of Akaba, the Dead Sea Basin and the Jordan Valley, a few reaching as far north as Antioch. The glacial period failed to obliterate this obtrusive element in its entirety, but little is known on the subject. The Huleh basin, with its vast area of virgin swamp and marsh, should give us valuable evidence.

Lacustrine floras and faunas are notoriously late in their period of propagation. From May to July would be the best period for study in the field. At that season Huleh is unhealthy, but this difficulty can be overcome. It is suggested that a small party, including expert collectors in all branches of biology, say four in number, should be equipped for a period of three months biological survey of Huleh Lake and its surrounding marshland. The total cost should not exceed £300 to £400, but the value of the work would be far in excess of that paltry sum.

But the opportunity is fleeting and it must be done next year."

Since the above communication, we have received a letter from Mr. R. Washbourne who, with Mr. R. F. Jones, both of Birmingham University, are already engaged in researches in the Lake Huleh region. He writes:

" The object of our work is to get a general idea of the freshwater fauna of the Huleh lake and swamp, and a general description of the Huleh as a habitat for plants and animals. I myself am directing the most of my attention to the microscopic, or small animals, but am making collections also of fishes, frogs, etc., while my friend and colleague, Mr. R. F. Jones, of Birmingham University, is collecting flowering plants, and mosses, etc., and endeavouring to discover more about the relations of the one plant area to another."

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT

AND ACCOUNTS

WITH

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

found at End of 1935 volume

FOR THE YEAR 1935

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND was founded on June 22nd, 1865, for the purpose of conducting systematic and scientific research in the Holy Land.

It was established on the basis of the following rules :—

1. It was not to be a religious society. That is to say, it should be pledged not to advocate or attack any form of creed or doctrine.
2. It was not to adopt or to defend any side in controversial matters.
3. It was to be conducted on strictly scientific principles.

These rules have been jealously observed. The Society's organ, the QUARTERLY STATEMENT, is open to all opinions, while it records as facts only the actual discoveries and results of its exploring officers.

Although the Society is not a religious society, strictly so called, its work necessarily possesses unusual interest for Bible Students of all denominations, who find in the results obtained by exploration much that confirms and illustrates the historical truth of both the Old and New Testaments.

In the course of its existence, the Society, with limited funds at its disposal, has done an immense amount of work, and published the results in books, papers, maps, plans and photographs, primarily for the benefit of its subscribers, and for the advantage of students of the Sacred Scriptures.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1935.

THE excavations at Samaria, under Mr. Crowfoot, which have been carried out jointly by Harvard University, the P.E.F., the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, and the Hebrew University, were brought to an end during the course of the year. The final report on this important undertaking is now being prepared. It has been mentioned in previous Annual Reports that the outstanding discovery of Biblical interest was that of the carved ivories. Whilst the best of them will find a home in the magnificent new Museum in Jerusalem, a few important specimens are to be retained in the Museum of this Fund at 2 Hinde Street. They are well worth a visit of inspection.

As reported by the Treasurer, thanks to a legacy of £500, left to the Fund under the will of the late Mr. Cecil White, the debt incurred as the result of the alterations to our house has been much reduced, and will probably be entirely paid off early in 1936. The same legacy made possible the purchase of some much needed books for the Library.

The Chairman visited Palestine in February and March 1935, and took the opportunity of discussing the suggested Archæological Survey with the High Commissioner ; the Director of the Department of Antiquities ; with Mr. Crowfoot, the Director of the British School of Archæology ; Professor Garstang ; Mr. Starkey ; Colonel Salmon, the Commissioner for Lands and Surveys ; and others. It is clear that there is a very general approval of the idea of such a Survey, which becomes more desirable as the countryside changes with the progress of modern development. As long ago as 1894, the late Colonel Conder remarked that many of the antiquities, noted in the Survey of 1872-82, had disappeared, and the rate of change is far greater now. The proposed Archæological Survey would take many years to carry through. Its establishment will depend upon the support that it receives, and its value will depend upon

its organisation on sound lines and its prosecution through a number of years on those lines. It is still uncertain whether the project will come into existence, though it is probable that it will.

In the October QUARTERLY STATEMENT there appeared a letter from Colonel R. Meinertzhagen with reference to the projected drainage scheme of the Lake Huleh basin in northern Palestine, and the desirability of a biological survey before the lake and marsh give place to agriculture. Some work of this nature has already been done during last summer by Messrs. R. Washbourn and R. F. Jones, for the trustees of the Percy Sladen Fund, and the Committee of the P.E.F. may be able to assist further research in this region in the spring of 1937.

The untimely death of Colonel T. E. Lawrence brought again to the notice of the public the work which he carried out for the Fund, in which he was associated with Mr., now Sir C. L. Woolley, in 1914, when they joined the Survey expedition to the Negeb, or Southern Wilderness, under the command of Captain S. F. Newcombe, now Colonel Newcombe, our Honorary Treasurer. The account of the archæological exploration of this interesting and curious region was published in 1915, under the title *The Wilderness of Zin*, as P.E.F. Annual No. 3. A new edition of this work has been issued by Messrs. Jonathan Cape, with a preface by Sir Frederic Kenyon. This admirably produced edition of the book which describes the topography, history and archæology of the desert country south of Beersheba and the Dead Sea, and deals with the wanderings of the Israelites, and much else, can be bought at the house of the Fund for eighteen shillings.

The following lectures were given at 2 Hinde Street, during the year :—

The Topography of some New Testament Sites, by Doctor Masterman.

The Khurri, a recently discovered people of ancient Palestine, by Mr. Sidney Smith.

Ancient Ritual, by Professor S. H. Hooke.

Excavations at Esbeita, by Mr. Colin Baly, (to the Annual Meeting in June).

A Journalist among Archæologists, by the Rev. C. B. Mortlock.

The Fund is much indebted to these gentlemen for the time and trouble that they kindly devoted to these excellent lectures.

The Annual Exhibition of the Egypt Exploration Society was held in the rooms of the Fund from September 16 to October 12.

Amongst the contributions to the QUARTERLY STATEMENT during 1935, may be mentioned, "Reports on Samaria," by J. W. Crowfoot; "Tell Duweir," by J. L. Starkey; "S'baita," by Colin Baly; "Jericho," by Professor J. Garstang; "Gezer," by A. Rowe; "Tell Duweir Inscriptions," by Father Eric Burrows, T. H. Gaster, Professor Hooke and Sir C. Marston; "Personal Reminiscences of T. E. Lawrence," by Colonel S. F. Newcombe; "Mirage in the Wilderness," by Canon Phythian-Adams; "Rare Jewish Coins," by Professor A. Reifenberg; "Naphath-Dor," by Professor D. W. Thomas; "A Greek Epitaph from Jaffa," by Marcus N. Tod. The Executive Committee desires to express its sincere thanks to these contributors to our journal, for their important and interesting articles.

During 1935 the following were added to the Museum:—

(1) A gift by Mr. James Clark, R.L., of 41 oil and water-colour and two line sketches of scenes in Palestine and Syria, executed by him during the years 1886-1897. These pictures were on exhibition during the summer, and it is intended to frame and display some of them permanently.

(2) Further additions to the collection of Samaria Ivories, and other objects from the excavations.

(3) A cast of the Rameses II Stela from Beisan, prepared from a squeeze supplied by courtesy of the University Museum, Philadelphia.

(4) A collection of Early Bronze Age Pottery from the excavations at Gezer.

(5) A large photograph of Walter Morrison, who presented the house to the Fund.

C. F. CLOSE,
Chairman.

TREASURERS' REPORT FOR 1935.

Our total income from all sources amounted to £1,977 10*s.* 4*d.*, and it must be explained at the outset that £500 of this represents a munificent bequest by the late Mr. Cecil White, of Edinburgh, who was a Life Member of the Fund.

Subscriptions and donations at £712 10*s.* 9*d.* show a diminution against 1934 of £68 0*s.* 1*d.*, which is accounted for in the main by a fluctuation in the payment of arrears, some £60 being owed at the close of the year under review as compared with £40 in 1934, when also we received some adjustment of arrears from our American supporters. Allowing for this, the fact remains that our membership is very inadequate, and the question of the means to adopt in order to remedy this state of affairs is engaging the earnest attention of the Committee.

Sales of publications, £354 17*s.* 6*d.*, shows a substantial increase, though this must be taken as abnormal, and due in a large measure to the sale of *The Wilderness of Zin* (P.E.F. *Annual* 1914-15), referred to by the Chairman. £142 18*s.* 5*d.* was received from this source, and by an arrangement with Messrs. Jonathan Cape, who have undertaken the publication of a second edition of this book, the Fund will continue to benefit on a royalty basis.

Rent £362 10*s.* 0*d.* is £37 10*s.* 0*d.* short of the full £400 which we derive from our lettings, this difference being an amount due at Christmas but not paid before the close of the year. It is included among our Assets in the Balance Sheet.

Income Tax repayment from covenanted subscriptions, £19 15*s.* 9*d.* is a growing amount which it is hoped will further increase as more members sign the form which enables the Fund to make the claim.

The Fire Insurance claim of £24 1*s.* 4*d.* was a settlement for damage sustained to some parcels of P.E.F. book sheets while they were in store at the printers.

On the expenditure side of the account, £119 5*s.* 9*d.* Exploration, represents £109 5*s.* 9*d.* devoted to Samaria, and £10 to

preliminary investigations in connection with the projected Archæological Survey of Palestine.

Printing costs, £427 10*s*. 8*d*., includes an amount of £84 5*s*. 0*d*. owed for October 1934 QUARTERLY STATEMENT. The cost of QUARTERLY STATEMENT 1935, and *Annual Report* 1934 was £313 18*s*. 4*d*., and represents a substantial reduction on former charges. An amount of £29 7*s* 4*d*. was spent on incidental printing, including propaganda.

Binding and advertising 208 copies of *The Wilderness of Zin* (first edition) cost £25 16*s*. 6*d*.

The purchase of fifty chairs for use at lectures was an essential investment to obviate the cost of hiring them frequently.

Economy has been effected under Insurance, and storage.

£5 was voted towards the expenses of a delegate to the International Congress of Religions at Brussels.

Other expenses are at a minimum compatible with efficiency.

Thanks to the above mentioned legacy and income from sales, and the temporary cessation of extensive operations in the field, we were enabled to reduce the burden of debt from £1,125 to £400, and close the year with a cash balance of £229 7*s*. 1*d*. This debit balance of £170 12*s*. 11*d*. will be cleared off in 1936. All available resources will be required for the projected Archæological Survey and a biological survey in Lake Huleh, referred to by the Chairman. It will be essential to increase our resources if this work is to be carried out worthily. There is now ample need to increase our membership which, excluding Libraries is only 401.

Thanks is expressed to the Local Secretaries for their continued assistance.

S. F. NEWCOMBE,

Hon. Treasurer.

BALANCE SHEET 31st DECEMBER, 1935

Liabilities.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Capital :—		
Authorised—200 Shares of £1 each	200 0 0	
Issued—10 Shares of £1 each—not called		—
Creditors—For Printing and Current Expenses		46 8 6
Loan from Bankers—For Alterations to No. 2 Hinde Street (Secured against Freehold Property). As per last Balance Sheet	1,125 0 0	
Repayments during 1935	725 0 0	
		400 0 0
Surplus of Assets over Liabilities :—		
(Excluding Donated Property) As per last Balance Sheet	397 15 6	
Add Surplus for the year	875 0 2	
		1,272 15 8
		£1,719 4 2

C. F. Close, *Chairman.*

S. F. Newcombe, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Assets.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Freehold Property—Donated—No. 2 Hinde Street (Estimated value £5,000)		—
Alterations and Improvements No. 2 Hinde Street		1,188 17 5
Museum, Library and Store-room, Fixtures, Fittings, Furniture, etc. (as per last Balance Sheet) ...	155 8 10	
Additions during the year ...	35 0 8	
		190 9 6
Jewish Colonial Trust—Donated—50 Ordinary Shares of £1 each, fully paid		—
Stock of Publications, Maps, Books, Models, Lantern Slides, Library, Antiques, Furniture, etc.		—
Sundry Debtors		50 10 2
Subscriptions in Arrear		60 0 0
Cash :—		
At Bank	210 14 10	
In Hand	18 12 3	
		229 7 1
		£1,719 4 2

Auditors' Report to the Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

We report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required as Auditors. We have examined and compared the above Balance Sheet and Receipts and Payments Account, with the books and vouchers of the Fund, and, in our opinion, they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Fund, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Fund.

19 Coleman Street,
London, E.C.2.
30*th March*, 1936.

TURQUAND, YOUNGS & CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1935

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
To Balance—31st December, 1934	202	2	1
Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies	712	10	9
Sale of Publications :—			
Books £298 16 3			
Maps 1 16 6			
Casts and Lantern Slides ... 54 4 9			
	354	17	6
Legacy Bequeathed by the late Cecil White, Esq.	500	0	0
Rent of Upper Floors and Basement, No. 2 Hinde Street	362	10	0
Income Tax Repayment from Covenanted Subscriptions	19	15	9
Refund—Balance of Grant to International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences 1933	1	13	0
Donation for use of Palestine Exploration Fund Rooms for Exhibition	2	2	0
Fire Insurance Claim	24	1	4
	£2,179	12	5

Payments.	£	s.	d
By Exploration	119	5	9
Printing (including Quarterly Statement Oct., 1934, and four numbers 1935,) Annual Report, Postage and Despatch	427	10	8
Books Purchased :—			
For Library 4 11 10			
For Re-Sale 8 6 6			
	12	18	4
Book-Binding and Advertisement—208, First Edition *Wilderness of Zin*	25	16	6
Casts, Lantern Slides and Photographs ...	31	11	2
Lectures and Meetings	5	3	2
Repairs and Maintenance	11	3	4
Furniture and Fixtures :—			
50 Chairs 18 10 10			
Fixtures 11 18 0			
	30	8	10
Salaries and Wages	415	6	9
Postage, Telephone and Transport ...	39	18	10
Insurance	11	2	7
Rates and Taxes	10	8	9
Lighting and Heating	20	4	3
Stationery and Sundries	16	16	2
Audit Fee	10	10	0
Cheque Books		16	0
International Cogress of Religions—Palestine Exploration Fund Delegate	5	0	0
Bank Loan :—			
Repayment 725 0 0			
Interest 31 4 3			
	756	4	3
Cash :—			
At Bank 210 14 10			
In Hand 18 12 3			
	229	7	1
	£2,179	12	5

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

RECEIVED BETWEEN JANUARY 1st AND DECEMBER 31st, 1935 INCLUSIVE.

*** If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next Annual Report.

	£	s.	d.
Acland, H. Dyke, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Acutt, Miss A.	2	2	0
Adler, E. N., Esq.	0	10	6
Alford, Miss M.	1	1	0
Allenby, Field-Marshal Viscount	1	1	0
Annett, E. A., Esq. ...	4	4	0
Armitage, Robert, Esq. ...	2	2	0
Ashmole, Prof. Bernard ...	1	1	0
Atkinson, Mrs. Asheton ...	1	1	0
Auffarth, F. B. Esq ...	2	2	0
Bacon, F. D., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Bailey, Dr. T. Graham ...	3	3	0
Balston, Miss F. C.	1	1	0
Barclay, Major R. L. ...	1	1	0
Barclay, Rev. T.	4	4	0
Barham, S. P. Esq. ...	1	1	0
Barnes, Prof. W. Emery ...	1	1	0
Barnett, Mrs. H. Lake ...	1	1	0
Barron, Mrs.	1	1	0
Bate, Miss D. M.	1	1	0
Battersby, Mrs. E.	1	1	0
Baxendell, J., Esq.	0	12	6
Bayley, Arthur R. Esq. ...	2	2	0
Beasley, Walter Esq ...	1	12	6
Becke, Major A. F.	1	1	0
Beeman, W. H., Esq. ...	0	10	6
Belmore, The Earl of ...	1	1	0
Bentwich, Prof. N. ...	2	2	0
Bentzen, Prof. A.	1	1	0
Berry, Sir James	1	1	0
Bethell, Miss M.	1	1	0
Bilton, F., Esq.	1	1	0
Blair, Dr. Charles	1	1	0
Blair, Capt. D. P.	1	1	0
Blomberg, Gustav, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Bloomfield, Rev. H. ...	1	1	0
Bodding, Rev. P. O. ...	1	1	0
Boulton, W. H., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Bramwell, W., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Bridges, Rev. W. G. ...	1	1	0
British Guiana, The Bishop of	1	11	6
Brown, Mrs. Hargreaves ...	1	1	0
Brown, James, Esq., Jr. ...	2	2	0
Buchanan, Mr. and Mrs. W.	1	1	0
Bugbee, H. L. Esq. ...	1	1	0
Carried forward ...	£61	11	6

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...	61	11	6
Burdon, Rev. R. J.	1	1	0
Burroughs, Miss	0	10	0
Busck, A., Esq.	1	1	0
Bushell, W. F., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Buxton, Dr. P. A.	1	1	0
Byrchimore, Rev. J. ...	0	2	6
Cairns, Rev. W. T.	0	10	6
Campbell, Mrs. Lamont ...	1	1	0
Campion, James, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. D. W.	0	2	6
Chalmers-Hunt, D. R., Esq.	1	1	0
Christian, Dr. V.	1	1	0
Close, Sir Charles	2	2	0
Cobb, Sir Cyril	1	1	0
Cole, S. C., Esq.	2	2	0
Colt, H. Dunscombe, Esq. ...	2	2	0
Commissariat of the Holy Land	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. Canon W. ...	1	1	0
Cooke, Rev. Prof. G. A. ...	0	10	6
Coullie, Lt.-Col. A. G. ...	1	1	0
Crabtree, Rev. W. A. ...	2	2	0
Crace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Crace, J. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Crawford, L., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Crawford, O. G. S., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Crawford, Rev. S. A. ...	1	1	0
Curwen, B. H.	1	1	0
Curwen, Dr. E. Cecil ...	1	1	0
Curwen, Dr. Elliot	2	2	0
Curzon, Miss D. L.	1	1	0
Cust, Arthur Esq.	2	2	0
Daiches, Dr. S.	4	4	0
Daniels, Miss	0	2	6
Davies, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Davies, Miss H. W.	1	1	0
Deacon, J. F. W., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Deedes, Mrs. C. N.	1	1	0
Dhorme, Dr. Emil	3	3	0
Dirk, Pons & Co., Messrs. ...	1	1	0
Dixon, H. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Dixon, Rev. H. L. ...	1	1	0
Dolton, P. H. I., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Dorph, Rev. W. P. F. ...	0	10	6
Driver, G. R., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Carried forward	£118	12	6

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	118	12	6
Du Boulay, Brig.-Gen. W. H.	1	1	0
Dugmore, Rev. C. W.	1	1	0
Dulau, Mons. P.	1	1	0
Dyson, Rev. Fr. Robert A.	2	2	0
Dyott, Major R.A.	1	1	0
Edwards, W. C., Esq.	1	1	0
Eide, J., Esq.	1	1	0
Elliger, Prof. Carl	1	1	0
Elliot' Miss Joan	1	1	0
Elmslie, Rev. Prof. W. A.	1	1	0
Elsdon, Miss	1	1	0
Elverson, Miss A.	0	2	6
Ely, The Dean of	1	1	0
Evans, E. M. P., Esq.	1	1	0
Evill, Rev. W. E.	1	1	0
Falconer, Harold Esq.	6	6	0
Farmar, Miss	1	1	0
Finn, Miss	1	1	0
Firminger, Rev. Dr. W.	1	1	0
FitzGerald, G. M., Esq.	2	2	0
Fletcher, W., Esq.	2	2	0
Fouts, Rev. W. M.	0	13	0
Fox, Lady	1	1	0
Frank, Miss	2	2	0
Franklin, A. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Fremlin, Frank, Esq.	5	0	0
Freshfield, The Misses	1	1	0
Gabriel, J. W. W., Esq.	2	0	0
Gamble, Rev. H. J.	1	1	0
Gampert, Prof. A.	0	10	6
Gardiner, Dr. A. H.	2	2	0
Garner, Rev. H.	1	1	0
Garnett, Rev. T. A.	1	1	0
Gentle-Cackett, Rev. S. W.	1	1	0
Georges, Rev. Fr. N.	2	2	0
Gerold & Co., Messrs.	3	3	0
Gerstley, Mrs.	2	2	0
Gibson, Mrs.	2	2	0
Gilson, David J., Esq.	2	0	10
Goadby, F. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Goodenough, Admiral Sir W.	1	1	0
Gray, Melville, Esq.	1	0	0
Griffin, Dr. F. W. W.	0	10	6
Griffin, H. J. S., Esq.	1	1	0
Griffiths, Mrs. F. Ll.	1	1	0
Gurney, Oliver R., Esq.	1	1	0
Hall, T. Walter, Esq.	1	1	0
Hammond, Col. F. S.	2	2	0
Hammond, Rev. F. H.	1	1	0
Hardman, L. H., Esq.	1	1	0
Harrison, Miss W. A.	0	10	6
Harvey, Rev. J. H.	1	1	0
Harvie, Mrs.	1	1	0
Hay, Major A. E.	1	1	0
Haycraft, Lady	1	1	0
Haycraft, Sir Thomas,	1	1	0
Heath, Rev. Alban	1	1	0
Hennequin, Prof. L.	2	2	0
Herder, Messrs. B.	2	2	0
Hewetson, Rev. J.	1	1	0
Hiersemann, K. W., Esq.	2	2	0
Hill, Miss E.	0	10	0
Hindle, Miss E.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£207	2	4

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	207	2	4
Hindley, Miss R. C.	1	1	0
Hinke, Prof. W. J.	2	0	0
Hiorth, A., Esq.	2	2	0
Hodgetts, Miss M. Chambers	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Hodgson, Miss H. L.	0	10	0
Hofbauer, Dr. Josef	1	1	0
Hollis, Miss E. S.	1	1	0
Holwell, E. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Hope, Miss B.	1	1	0
Hope, Miss G.	1	1	0
Houtsma, Prof. D. M.	0	10	6
Howlett, C. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Hulbert-Powell, Canon C. L.	2	2	0
Hunter, Miss M. V.	1	1	0
Huntley, J. R., Esq.	0	5	0
H.W.J.	1	1	0
Hyamson, A. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Hyde, Sir Charles	2	2	0
Hyvernat, Prof. H.	4	1	11
Inglis, Rev. J. G.	0	10	6
Inglis, Rev. J. W.	1	1	0
Innes, Rev. T. Christie	1	1	0
Jack, Rev. Dr. J. W.	2	2	0
Jackson, Lady	2	2	0
de Jarnac, Rev. R.	1	1	0
Jersey, The Dean of	1	1	0
Johnson, Rev. Lewis	1	1	0
Jones, Rev. Canon R. C. S.	1	1	0
Julian, Mrs. M. B.	1	1	0
Kelly, Prof. F. T.	0	19	10
Jewish Post, The	2	2	0
Kennedy, Dr. S. H.	2	2	0
Kennedy, Messrs. W. & J.	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir Frederic	1	1	0
Kip, A. L., Esq.	0	10	0
Kirberger & Kesper, Messrs.	1	1	0
de Knevett, Edgar, Esq.	1	1	0
Koehler, K. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Ladson, C. A., Esq.	1	1	0
Lake, F. Coote, Esq.	1	1	0
Langworthy, Mrs.	1	1	0
La Page, John, Esq.	1	1	0
Larsen, Rev. H. L.	1	2	0
Laxon, Sidney, Esq.	1	1	0
Lees, G. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Leng, John A., Esq.	2	2	0
Levett, Rev. T. P.	1	1	0
Libraries—			
Aberdeen Public Library	0	10	6
Aberdeen University	1	1	0
Adelaide Public Library	1	1	0
Allegheny College	0	10	6
Alleyn's School	1	11	6
American Academy Rome	1	1	0
American Philosophical Society	1	1	0
American Univ. Beirut	1	1	0
Amherst College	1	1	0
Amsterdam University	1	1	0
Armagh Library	1	1	0
Ashmolean Museum	1	1	0
Carried forward	279	0	7

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	279	0	7
Assasi, Biblioteca Seminario	1	1	0
Auburn Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Basel University ...	1	1	0
Bavarian State Library	2	1	1
Berkeley Bap. Div. School	1	1	0
Berlin University ...	3	3	0
Birmingham Public Libraries	1	1	0
Boston Public Library ...	1	1	0
Bradford City Library ...	0	10	6
Breslau University ...	1	1	0
Brighton Public Library	2	2	0
Bristol Public Libraries ...	1	1	0
British Columbia, Union College of	1	1	0
Brown University ...	1	1	0
Bucknell Library ...	1	1	0
Butler University ...	2	2	0
Cairo Service des Antiquités	1	1	0
California University ...	0	10	6
Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Ethnology	5	0	0
Carnegie Library, Pittsburg	0	10	6
Case Memorial Library ...	0	19	5
Chicago Oriental Institute, Luxor	1	1	0
Chicago University ...	1	1	0
Church House, Westminster	0	10	6
Cliff College	5	0	0
Colgate-Rochester Divinity School ...	1	1	0
Cone Memorial Y.M.C.A.	1	1	0
Copenhagen Royal Library	2	2	0
Cornell University (2 subs.)	2	2	0
Davidson College ...	2	2	0
Doshisha Theol. School ...	1	1	0
Edinburgh University ...	2	2	0
Eton College Library ...	1	11	6
Garrett Biblical Institute	0	19	11
Hackney and New College	1	1	0
Hague University ...	2	2	0
Halle University ...	1	1	0
Hamburg University ...	1	1	0
Harvard College ...	1	1	0
Haverford College ...	1	1	0
Heythrop College ...	1	1	0
Hull Libraries	0	10	6
Ignatius College	1	1	0
Illinois University ...	1	1	0
Institut de France ...	1	1	0
Jewish Theol. Seminary...	1	1	0
Jews College	0	10	6
John Rylands Library ...	1	1	0
Kiel University	4	4	0
Königsberg State Library	1	1	0
Lake Erie College ...	1	1	0
Lancaster Theol. Seminary	1	0	4
Leeds Library	2	2	0
Leipzig University ...	1	1	0
Liverpool Diocesan Church House ...	0	10	6
Carried forward	£356	0	4

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	356	0	4
London University Lib. ...	1	1	0
Los Angeles Public Library	1	0	6
Lund University ...	1	1	0
McMaster University ...	1	1	0
Manchester University ...	1	1	0
Mansfield College ...	1	1	0
Mary Baldwin College ...	1	1	0
Maynooth College ...	0	10	6
Metropolitan Museum of Art	1	1	0
Minneapolis Athenæum ...	1	1	0
Montreal Theological Col.	1	1	0
Mount Hoylake College ...	1	1	0
Newberry Library ...	1	1	0
Newcastle-on-Tyne Library	2	2	0
New York Public Library	1	1	0
Newton Theol. Institution	2	1	1
Northwestern University	1	1	0
Oberlin College	1	1	0
Ottawa Parliament Liby.	1	1	0
Pacific School of Religion	2	1	5
Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale	1	1	0
Peabody Institute ...	1	1	0
Peiping National Library	2	2	0
Pittsburg Xenia Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Pretoria University ...	0	10	6
Princeton Theol. Seminary	1	0	6
Princeton University ...	1	1	0
Prussian State Library ...	1	1	0
Royal Asiatic Society ...	1	1	0
St. Andrews University ...	1	1	0
St. Deiniol's Library ...	1	10	0
St. Louis Public Library	1	1	0
Selly Oak Colleges ...	2	2	0
Smith College	4	0	10
Sorbonne University ...	1	1	0
South Africa Public Library	1	1	0
S. Baptist Theol. Semin.	2	0	3
Sydney Public Library	1	1	0
Strassburg University ...	1	1	0
Texas Christian University	1	1	0
Union Theol. Seminary ...	2	2	0
Vaughan Library ...	0	10	6
Victoria Public Library ...	1	1	0
Wellesley College ...	1	0	8
Dr. Williams Library ...	2	2	0
Wisconsin University ...	1	1	0
Yale University	1	1	0
Zion Research Library ...	1	1	0
Lidby, Rev. Carl	1	1	0
Linton, Rev. Hugh ...	1	1	0
Lister, Sir W. and Lady ...	2	2	0
Little, W. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Llewellin, Mrs.	4	4	0
Lombe, Mrs.	2	2	0
Luckock, Rev. Canon A. M.	1	1	0
Luke, Sir Harry	1	1	0
Luzzatto, Mme. Elisabeth...	1	1	0
Carried forward	£431	3	1

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	431	3	1
Macalister, Prof. R. A. S. ...	1	1	0
Macdonogh, Gen. Sir George	1	1	0
MacGregor, Rev. W. ...	2	2	0
Mackintosh, Miss C. E. ...	1	1	0
McLean, Norman, Esq. ...	2	2	0
Maconochie, Rev. J. ...	1	1	0
Manwaring, G. F., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Margoliouth, Prof. D. S. ...	0	10	6
Marriott, Rev. F.	1	1	0
Masterman, Dr. E. W. G. ...	1	1	0
Mathieson, George, Esq. ...	20	0	0
Mauchline, Rev. J. ...	1	1	0
Max & Co., Messrs. J. ...	1	1	0
Mayer & Comp., Messrs. ...	1	1	0
Mills, Col. D. A.	2	2	0
Moberg, Prof. C. A.	1	1	0
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